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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS	
Minister States Syria's Policy in Arab Affairs (AL-MUSTAQBAL, 29 Sep 79) .....	1
ALGERIA	
Growth Rate of Urban Populations Studied (M. Bouteffouchet; REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, 14-20 Sep 79).	5
IRAN	
Political Parties Discuss Platforms (IRAN POLITICAL DIGEST, 30 Sep 79) .....	16
Premier Bazargan Greets GDR's 30th Anniversary (Mehdi Bazargan; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 Oct 79) .....	19
'LE MATIN' Reports Meeting of Iranian, Iraqi Kurdish Representatives (Editorial Report) .....	20
Unemployment Appears To Defy Solution (IRAN ECONOMIC SERVICE, 30 Sep 79) .....	21
Briefs	
Arrest of Rastakhiz Party Ex-Chief	25
ISRAEL	
Buying Land in Occupied Territories Said Preferable to Confiscation (HA'ARETZ, 24 Sep 79) .....	26



CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
El Al in Worsening Financial Difficulties (HA'ARETZ, 25 Sep 79) .....	29
Legality of Holding South African Gold Coins Undecided (MA'ARIV, 25 Sep 79) .....	31
KUWAIT	
'KUNA' Views al-Asad Visit to Moscow (KUNA, 15 Oct 79) .....	33
LIBYA	
Revolution's Accomplishments Discussed on Tenth Anniversary (Ilyas 'Abbud; AL-SAFIR, various dates) .....	35
WESTERN SAHARA	
Briefs U.S.-Moroccan Arms Sale Condemned	67

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### MINISTER STATES SYRIA'S POLICY IN ARAB AFFAIRS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 29 Sep 79 pp 21, 22

[Text] "I want to be logical, so I shall ask, 'Where does Syria stand now, and what is its role in the area, so that we may know how this position is reflected internally and what the probabilities are for the future.'"

With these questions, Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad, Syrian minister of information, began his discourse with us when we had an encounter with him in Paris at the beginning of this week. We asked him for the truth about what was being said and rumored concerning events in Syria, especially the events which the city of Damascus witnessed recently.

Iskandar added, "I am convinced that the Arab world is divided into two parts and into two attitudes: one part which bets on the future in spite of the Camp David agreements and has refused to cooperate with Israel, or, to put it more exactly, refuses to submit to Israeli hegemony in the area, and another part which has been content to take a share of the spoils, as we say in our proverbs, and believes that the shortest way to its personal safety is capitulation to Israeli hegemony.

"In this atmosphere, what are the probabilities for the future of the Arab nation, and where will the cornerstone be? For, if we start from this premise, we can evaluate the truth about what is going on in Syria and understand accurately why these problems are being raised in Syria at this time. The Ba'th Party is not new in power; it has been in power for 16 years. The Ba'th Party did not fall out with the Moslem Brotherhood Party just now, or in 1975, or in 1976; we have differed with them since the founding of the party. Indeed, on the contrary, the founding of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party was a reaction to the concepts which were set forth at the beginning of the 1940's, to wit, that the Arabs were weak and impotent and had to rely on some nonexistent force in the Arab nation. Since that time, we have been at odds with the Moslem Brotherhood Party and with some of the other parties which also wanted to rely on forces outside of the area, starting from the same doubt and having no confidence in the Arab citizen.

"Then why this alarm now? Why the reuniting of the ranks of the Moslem Brotherhood Party? And why the recourse to sectarian fighting in Syria by the Moslem Brotherhood Party now? The answer to these questions is bound up directly with the Syrian political situation.

"By any estimation, it is Syria that lays this cornerstone in the camp of steadfastness and rejection, and Syria is the starting point of any liberationist action. The term 'liberationist action' is not intended to mean military action alone, but rather, numerous and comprehensive methods including military action. Hence, I can say without presumption that betting on the Arab future by all of the external forces is betting on Syria. To bet on Syria is to bet on the future of the Arabs. If any convulsion should occur to the Syrian domestic front, it would mean that the whole Arab future would be put in serious jeopardy, for, if betting on the Arab future were the wager of the present on the developments of the situation in Syria, what would the probabilities of change in Syria be? Is there a likelihood that a military revolution might take place in Syria? I believe that nobody will disagree that the likelihood of a military revolution in Syria has vanished permanently and that the time for a military revolution in Syria is gone beyond return. Therefore, all that is desired is that Syria amuse itself with the domestic situation and turn its attention away from thwarting the plans which are aimed at the Arab future."

[Question] I wish to confirm what you said about what happened in Latakia.

[Answer] The imam of an 'Alawite mosque, if I must mention the name of the sect, was murdered in Latakia. He was a reciter of the Koran for 18 years in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and, before the ministry of waqfs appointed him imam of the mosque of the al-Raml quarter in Latakia, he was the preacher of the Kiwan mosque in Damascus for several years. The purpose of the murder of this shaykh was not only to shock the feelings of the Moslem citizens of all the various sects in Latakia, but also to create a confusion which would indicate that any 'Alawite Moslem in any place whatever was vulnerable just because he was an 'Alawite Moslem, provided that the deed of assassination should be accompanied by a campaign of confusion and rumors in Latakia which would make citizens suspect their brother citizens and be wary of them in consequence of the reaction.

[Question] What happened after the crime was committed?

[Answer] I shall tell you quite frankly that the local authority in Latakia was afflicted with a lack of initiative and weakness of perception on the pretext of pursuing security procedures to the letter, and that resulted in a delay in transporting the corpse of the betrayed martyr Shaykh Yusuf Sarim for several hours while he lay in the street. This caused many of the young people, of whom the eldest was not more than 16 years of age, to carry sticks with which to hit any official car which passed through that street. The problem ended immediately after the burial. Not one incident occurred that

we can characterize as sectarian in Latakia; on the contrary, there occurred, on the part of all of the citizens, objections and unrest and a demonstration against the local authority in Latakia, and the people all cursed and reviled that authority. That is what happened in Latakia, and that is what makes me personally, as a citizen and as the minister of information in Syria, all the more proud of the consciousness of the citizens, who is our instrument in all of the conflicts that we put in his way.

[Question] There is an obscurity which envelops some of the news in Syria. The citizen in Syria hears of crimes of sectarian assassination from the people and does not hear them from the official information, so what is this obscurity?

[Answer] I assure you that we cannot be victorious in all our conflicts unless the citizen keeps up with us on the truth about this business that is going on about him. Any combatant who does not know why he is fighting and what the limits of his conflict are will not be victorious in this conflict. This is our base and these are our principles, and therefore we in Syria are extremely desirous of publishing the news as soon as it happens, and, whenever we publish news, we publish it truthfully. It has never yet been established that any news that we have published about Syria and its domestic issues has entered into the realm of black propaganda. I have said as much as possible in order to be truthful and fair, because considerations of security sometimes oblige us to delay the broadcasting of the news. In Syria, whenever a crime occurs, whether political or nonpolitical, this crime cannot be concealed or obscured from anyone. Official silence does not mean at all that the citizen has not heard of it, but rather, it means that there are security requirements and procedures which necessitate official silence till the circumstances permit it to be broadcast. This is indeed what has happened with us, but, at the same time, we are not obliged to issue a bulletin every day or to issue a statement of contradiction or denial every time a news item comes in from some agency or from some hostile broadcast.

[Question] We want to know how things stand between Syria and Iraq. There is confusion in the news, and there are accusations saying that Syria is in back of a conspiracy in Iraq. These accusations have been issued not from official Iraq, but from journalistic quarters. What is the truth, then, about the official relationship now?

[Answer] Relations between Syria and Iraq are not the best at this time, and the march toward unity has been bogged down somewhat. Nevertheless, as to what some of the Arab and foreign newspapers have published to the effect that Syria is in back of what has taken place in Iraq recently, this statement is devoid of truth. Syria, after years of stagnation, undertook to get together with Iraq. We believed, and we still believe, that the Iraqi nation, with its human and material capabilities, should, out of pan-Arab necessity, be highly desirous of it, and that Iraq should be enabled at any cost to make an effective contribution in the conflict of confrontation with Israel.



We used to believe in the need to exert every effort possible, regardless of any sensitivity or difficulties, to make Iraq play a direct part in the conflict of confrontation, in addition to the necessities that arose in the Arab world enjoining on every faithful person under the sun his duties and the requirements of his membership in the Arab race to ignore any difference and share in the great effort in the main conflict, the conflict of steadfastness in the face of the U.S.-Israeli plan, which was able to draw to itself the policy of Sadat's Egypt. Hence, our urgency was without limit to condense the time and realize the unity of the two countries, Syria and Iraq. We had a large nationalistic and pan-Arab interest in doing so, and our brothers in Iraq had the same interest in working for unity. I believe that the unity of Syria and Iraq was, and still is, an urgent desire of the masses of the great Arab nation. Therefore, Syria has no interest in seeing Iraq beaten, for Syria labored for a long time till it was able to build bridges of love and brotherhood with Iraq. Syria has no interest in destroying these bridges; quite to the contrary, it is both in Syria's narrow provincial nationalistic interest and in its lofty pan-Arab interest to reinforce these bridges and to increase them in strength and solidity and expanse, for Syria has no part, no hand, and no knowledge in what happened. If there was a conspiracy, it took place in Iraq with the aim of strengthening Iraq and changing conditions in Iraq, so that dragging Syria's name into the matter is a conspiracy itself.

[Question] What is the situation in Lebanon, and when will the Syrian presence there end?

[Answer] Let me ask you in turn, has the time not come yet for the Lebanese to agree and realize their national unity and reject any cooperation with the enemy of Lebanon and the enemy of the Arabs? Has the time not yet come for the Lebanese to emerge from narrow, selfish class interest action? If they did that, they would really be giving us the chance to bring our troops back to Syria, and our extensive sacrifices in Lebanon in the interest of our Lebanese brothers would cease. We do not wish that on anybody, because we do what we do out of our belief in a pan-Arab principle. However, from the time when these forces entered Lebanon till now, this policy, which is served by the presence of these forces in that country, has not changed. These forces entered to perform a task in response to our pan-Arab tendency and to the desires of our Lebanese brothers, and these forces will stay till they have completed their task.

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GROWTH RATE OF URBAN POPULATIONS STUDIED

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 14-20 Sep 79 pp 26-32

[Article by M. Boutefnouchet: "Urban Growth in Algeria"]

[Text] During the last decade, the urban population of Algeria experienced the most relentless proportional rate of growth in a half century. Between 1906 and 1954, urban populations increased by 8.8 percent, but between 1966 and 1977 they grew at a rate of 9 percent. Taking into consideration all the temporal, spatial and historical factors, these growth-rates are quite impressive. "Rarely has a country (Algeria) experienced in 15 years such cultural, economic and social upheavals." (See LE MONDE 3/1/79, article by D. Junqua: "Algeria in Mid-Stream"). These upheavals accurately reflect the massive urban changes.

They are of such an extent that the central political authorities consider urban problems, along with the phenomenon of the rural exodus, to be of the highest priority on their list of preoccupations and problems to be solved. These far-reaching changes have an impact on political thinking as well; that is, on choices that are fundamental to future urban planning; they are also bound up with rural and agrarian politics and land utilization planning. In 1978, in fact, urban and territorial decisions, which overlap and are very complex, have gone beyond the level of purely technical decisions or of administration and implementation, which in certain cases have reached their maximum point of effectiveness when compared to the scope and intensity of the problems to be solved.

This ruthlessness in urban growth is a recent trend; it began in 1954, increased in 1962 and developed still more after 1966. The growth-rate of urbanization, in proportion to the Algerian population, indicates this well enough: in 1886 it stood at 8 percent; in 1906 at 10 percent; in 1926, 13 percent; in 1936, 16 percent; in 1956, 21 percent; and in 1977, 41 percent.



From 1886 to 1956, the urban population of Algeria grew by 13 percent, with an average growth-rate of 1.7 percent in each decade. Between 1956 and 1977, this same population increased by 20 percent. Inversely, the rural population made up 92 percent of the total figure in Algeria in 1880, 79 percent in 1956 and 59 percent in 1977. The figures will continue to increase in the years to come, following the rhythm set by the pace of development up to that time.

If we use as our criterion the number of cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, we can determine the precise extent of urbanization in the country and compare it with other countries. Cities of 100,000 inhabitants are, in fact, an unquestionable sign of advanced urbanization.

There were four cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1966: Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba. By 1977, the number of such cities had risen to 11, adding to the above: Setif, Blida, Sidi-Bel-Abbes, Batna, Tlemcen, El-Asnam and Skikda.

According to the average rate of urban growth experienced between 1966 and 1977, the number of cities which could reach the 100,000 mark by 1987 could be as high as 27 (as 16 cities that had between 60,000 and 90,000 inhabitants in 1977 could in fact, at the present rate of growth, number 100,000 or more by 1987: Bejaia, Biskra, Tizi-Ouzou, Medea, Tiaret, Ouargla, Tougourt, Bechar, Tebessa, Saida, Mascara, Guelma, Souk-Ahras, Relizane, Khemis-Miliana and Ghardaia).

Certain cities are experiencing a spectacular growth which literally makes them leap above the 100,000 mark: Blida, Setif, Skikda and Mostaganem, while Batna and El-Asnam, which had not reached 50,000 inhabitants by 1966, had very definitely risen above 100,000 by 1977.

#### The Metropolises

Algiers and Annaba are growing at approximately the same rates (69 and 71 percent, respectively), while Oran shows a slightly lesser rate (59 percent); Constantine, however, is saturated and does not seem to experience the effects of natural growth without other external population contributions. Migrants no longer move into Constantine, a city that has a surplus population living in an urban locality already limited by geographical constraints. But the back country behind Constantine--El-Khroub--is experiencing strong signs of growth; this little town grew from 10,000 inhabitants in 1966 to 40,000 in 1977, a very rapid process of growth, which, if maintained, will not be long in turning it into a full-fledged city.

The rate of urban growth between 1966 and 1977 shows at least three levels of gradation:

1) Average rates of urbanization--between 30 and 40 percent: Constantine (33 percent), Sidi-Bel-Abbes (33 percent); for all practical purposes these percentages represent simply the normal growth based on the birth rate (3.2 to 3.4 percent).

2) Strong rates of urbanization--between 50 and 80 percent: Algiers (69 percent); Oran (59 percent); Annaba (71 percent); Setif (64 percent); Skikda (77 percent); Tlemcen (53 percent); without exception these are industrial cities (Tlemcen having only recently taken on this character).

3) Spectacular rates of urbanization (very strong) are higher than 85 percent: Blida (87 percent); Mostaganem (87 percent); El-Asnam (116 percent); Batna (133 percent); these are rates of growth which have effectively doubled, or more than doubled, the size of an urban population. In this case, it is a question of natural growth and of a growth sustained by the arrival of a great mass of people, the majority of whom are of rural origin. The proportion of people migrating to the cities very clearly exceeds the rate of natural growth, which is in itself already very high. These cities of spectacular growth are new urban centers towards which the flood of rural migrants seems to be concentrating its flow.

The larger cities continue to feel the effects of these systematized levels of urban growth (average, strong and very strong), but they also affect cities that are now average in size, but most of which, given the rapid rate of development, will reach ever larger dimensions; and this could bring them to a state of urban imbalance or to a kind of excessive structural growth.

#### Rate of Urbanization

As surprising as it may seem when seen against this rapidity of growth and evolution, one Saharan city did regress in demography between 1966 and 1977: Touggourt decreased from a population of 84,000 to one of 75,000; perhaps this decrease can be explained by the relative isolation of this city from the major arteries of traffic.

But this exception only the more forcefully confirms the general tendency toward accelerated growth.

1) Average urbanization--30 to 40 percent: Only one city falls into this category of development: Relizane. Relizane is certainly in serious competition with its neighbors such as El-Asnam and Mohammadia.

2) Strong urbanization--50 to 80 percent. Already at this level of growth are: Bejaia (80 percent), Biskra (70 percent), Tiaret (70 percent), Souk-Ahras (71 percent) and Guelma (67 percent).

Except for Souk-Ahras, these cities have all been seats of government in Wilaya since 1973 and are thus taking on an ever greater administrative importance.

3) Very strong urbanization: 85 percent and above. The majority of the average-sized cities show an increase on the order of double, triple or even quadruple their urban population between 1966 and 1977.

Some cities have doubled their population within a decade: Medea (95 percent), Tebessa (92 percent), Bou Saada (108 percent), Djelfa (104 percent), Maghnia (112 percent), Mohammadia (118 percent).

Other cities have tripled, or nearly tripled, their population: Ouargla (185 percent), Bechar (170 percent), Tizi-Ouzou (180 percent), Khemis-Miliana (145 percent), M'sila (145 percent).

Finally, there is one spectacular case of a city that has quadrupled in population: Ghardaia, which, from its 15,000 inhabitants in 1966 had climbed to 70,000 inhabitants by 1977.

If the natural growth-rate of the urban population in Algeria was 41.5 percent between 1966 and 1977, it seems that the very strong recent urban growth-rates are linked to the phenomenon of the rural migration to the cities. These spectacular urbanization rates can probably be attributed to the large number of development projects throughout the country, including on the one hand the new territorial organization begun in 1973, which multiplied the number of politico-administrative centers (the seats of government in Wilaya and Daira), and on the other hand, the specific activities of the various regional projects that have resulted from the special development programs involving the seven principal regions of the country (Aures, Kabylie, Titteri, Sahara, etc.).

Finally, the various national development projects, which among other things have provided for an intensified program of industrialization through the creation and operation of 250 production units between 1967 and 1973, and the construction of 350 new production units across the country, beginning in 1974. Over the course of the last decade the latter action has probably allowed nearly all the urban centers to benefit from the establishment of one or more of these production units in their vicinity.

Another explanation would be the continued improvement of the quality of life in urban centers during the last decade: the increased number of educational facilities, the improvements in medical and health care centers, in communications and in the choice of consumer goods. Finally, a psycho-social explanation: the hope for a better future associated with life in an urban center.



From all points of view, migrating to the city is a step upward socially; moving up from a small city to an average-sized city, and from the latter to a large city, ending up finally in a metropolis, seems to represent so many rungs on the ladder of upward social mobility, and this remains true even if the relative living standards of the migrant change very little.

One observation concerning the growth of the medium-sized cities is of great importance: it consists of the fact that these cities have experienced a growth-rate that is decidedly greater than that of the large cities and the metropolises during the decade from 1966 to 1977. The metropolises grew, on an average, by 55 percent, the large cities (over 100,000 inhabitants) by 80 percent; but in contrast, the average-sized cities had a formal growth of 100 percent. The larger the population of an urban center, the lower its rate of growth. Inversely, in modern Algeria, the smaller the urban center--corresponding to the minimal criteria for urbanization--the larger its rate of growth. This is all the more true, generally speaking, in that the population of the small cities of Algeria is increasing by 145 percent (see the table of small cities, which gives a total of 683,000 inhabitants for 1966, as contrasted with 1,680,000 in 1977).

In all instances, the proportion of growth due to migration remains preponderant in spite of the different gradations. Between 1966 and 1977, this proportion was 38.5 percent in large cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants and 58.5 percent in small cities.

Thus these figures call into question the commonly expressed opinion which claims that the stream of migrants empties into the larger cities and the metropolises; the number of migrants to urban centers has certainly been quite large during the past 11 years, and this cannot help but place burdens on certain urban structures that are already saturated. But it is especially the average-sized cities, and still more the small ones, which are exhibiting, and absorbing, the greatest floods of internal migration. Thus the latter form the first stages, sometimes the definitive ones, of the internal migration from the country to the cities. The smaller and medium-sized cities form a very important "stopper" capable of stabilizing the internal migration movement between isolated rural localities and the great urban agglomerations of the north.

The "stopper" function of the smaller cities in the first place, and of the medium-sized ones next, is most important in the center of the country.

Take the case of Algiers: Because the migrants cannot penetrate the nation's capital in any great numbers, because of the saturated rental situation and professional structures, they settle down in the urbanized areas that are closest to this large metropolis.

Thus the population of Algiers did increase by 69 percent over the period of a decade, but the suburban centers around Algiers (Cheraga, Rouiba, Boudouaou, all three of which are seats of government in Daira) saw their populations grow from 122,000 in 1966 to 358,000 in 1977, a growth-rate of 193 percent. Thus there is a noteworthy imbalance between the growth of Algiers and that of its suburbs. At best Algiers doubled its population, while its suburbs tripled theirs over the last decade.

This massive withdrawal of the migrant population to suburban centers around Algiers holds true for urban centers situated within a radius of 50 to 100 km of the capital. To the west, Cherrhell grew from 12,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, Bou-Ismaïl from 12,000 to 44,000, Dellys from 10,000 to 30,000. East of Algiers, Bordj-Menaïel grew from 14,000 to 45,000, Lakhdaria from 10,000 to 28,000, Boudouaou from 9,000 to 33,000 and Thenia from 8,000 to 35,000. South of the capital, the urban growth was less pronounced; instead of tripling their population, as did the suburbs east and west of Algiers, these southern regions only doubled theirs; of course, this in itself represents a remarkable increase. Boufarik had 10,000 inhabitants in 1966 and rose to 20,000 by 1977; Kolea increased from 16,000 to 33,000, Douera from 19,000 to 31,000 and El-Affroun from 10,000 to 20,000.

The urban centers to the east and west of Algiers experienced a much clearer development statistically, because of the industrial zone located to the east and the rather extensive touristic activities that transpire to the west of Algiers; southward, we find a largely agricultural region.

The principles that hold for Algiers, its suburbs and its back country (where the urban populations are growing more swiftly than in Algiers itself) also hold for other large cities in Algeria, such as Constantine, Annaba and Oran.

All these cities are "filled up" as far as their present structures are concerned, and in contrast, their suburbs and back country are absorbing the new groups of migrants who are unable to find room in the cities.

For Constantine, the example of El-Khroub is typical of the present urban situation: Constantine grew by only 35 percent in a decade (one of the weakest urban growth-rates in Algeria, attributable to its lack of urban space); in contrast, El-Khroub saw its population increase by 300 percent. From 10,000 inhabitants in 1966 it had grown to 40,000 by 1977.

The same was true of Annaba and its industrial suburban back country, called El-Hadjar: Annaba experienced a growth of 71 percent, but El-Hadjar. just yesterday a farm village and today practically

an industrial center, developed at a rate of 310 percent (7,000 inhabitants in 1966, 40,000 by 1977). This is due to the proximity of the gigantic iron-making complex of the National Iron Manufacturing Company, which employed 30,000 workers in 1977.

Oran was in the same situation vis-a-vis Essenia, Arzew, Beni-Saf and Ghazaouet. Where the population of Oran increased by 59 percent, Essenia grew by 150 percent (14,000 inhabitants in 1966 and 36,000 by 1977); but towns like Beni-Saf, Arzew and Ghazaouet, with their specifically industrial inclination, experienced growth-rates much more subtle than the suburban agglomerations around Algiers, Constantine or Annaba. Thus Beni-Saf saw its population increase by 58 percent (19,000 to 31,000), Ghazaouet by 115 percent (12,000 to 26,000) and Arzew, an important industrial center, by 100 percent (11,000 to 22,000); these percentages may be compared with the relationship between El-Hadjar and Annaba: 310 percent; and between El-Khroub and Constantine: 300 percent.

Thus in Algeria today, generally speaking, in the suburban agglomerations and in the small cities located in the back country of the larger cities and metropolises themselves, everything is happening as if the attraction of the large city ceased to apply when the stream of migration reached the edges of the urban agglomeration. Difficulties of integration into the large city, such as lodging and work situations, explain the fact that the migrant population has settled in the suburbs or in the little satellite towns around the metropolises.

From what has gone before, important questions emerge: The large cities and metropolises of Algeria have reached their threshold of saturation in terms of their current integration potential; the normative instruments and regulatory systems of these cities are quite unwieldy and difficult to get moving in the face of their unrestrained present rate of development; and when they do become operational, their effectiveness will remain to be seen as far as the reabsorption of the present problems of population growth (rapid) and the development of welcome organizations are concerned. The suburban agglomerations and the small cities around them are experiencing growth-rates that are clearly more extensive than those of the large cities, and these are most likely to increase.

What with all these impinging occurrences, is it not time to give some thought to a massive intensification of our welcome agencies, not those of the great cities, for in their case any new growth runs the risk of being excessive; but rather those of the suburban agglomerations and of the small urban centers in the vicinity of the large cities and the metropolises? If such an orientation is possible, how can we aim at balanced growth and how avoid the birth of new megalopolises which would spawn a host of other problems?



Is it not also time to broaden and intensify the scope of the welcome organizations in the medium and smaller cities, whose urban potential is not yet exhausted, and the development of which would be a favorable factor in evaluating an entire geographical and economic region?

These lines of direction, finally, ought not prevent us from turning toward the resolution of the problems of saturation in the large cities. Constantine is smothering. The Algerian capital of the eastern region is experiencing the lowest rate of growth in the country; Oran, Algiers and Annaba are "regurgitating" the newly arrived into their suburban agglomerations and into the small towns of the surrounding areas. This is a rather unusual situation for the urban planners of Algeria, and one which should be resolved not in favor of a hypothetical better standard of living (the case of the present growth in Algiers), but for an overall stabilization and balance of life.

[Separate block] National Liberation Front, Fourth Congress, Resolution concerning general policy: "Recording the continued development of the poorly managed rural exodus, the anarchistic growth of the larger cities and the social and economic consequences that these phenomena bring with them; and aware of continued regional inequities, in spite of the efforts put forth ever since the special Ouargla Program was begun in 1966; and considering the fact that the policy of regional balance constitutes one of the basic lines of our development policy; the Congress recommends:

- 1) The definition of regional systems of development
- 2) The determination of the zones that have to be maintained at their present level of activity and population, and
- 3) The distribution and administration of new centers of population in the interior of the country which will take charge of the new activities."

**CITIES WITH MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE IN 1977**  
(in thousands of inhabitants)

CITIES \ YEARS				%age of growth	
	1954	1966	1977	1954-1966	1966-1977
Alger	449	887	1520	99 %	69 %
Oran	274	326	491	18 %	59 %
Constantine	111	240	325	116 %	35 %
Annaba	88	150	256	69 %	71 %
Biskia	-	86	161	-	87 %
Sétif	-	88	144	-	64 %
Sidi-Bel-Abbes	-	87	118	-	33 %
Burns	-	48	112	-	133 %
Skikda	-	61	108	-	77 %
El Asnam	-	49	106	-	116 %
Tlemcen	-	71	109	-	53 %
Mostaganem	-	63	101	-	67 %

**EVOLUTION OF AVERAGE-SIZED CITIES: 1966 and 1977**  
(in thousands of inhabitants)

CITIES	YEARS		RATES OF GROWTH	POTENTIAL FOR 1987*
	1966	1977		
BEJAIA	50	90	80 %	155
BISKRA	53	90	70 %	150
OUARGLA	27	77	185 %	135
TOUGGOURT	84	75	-	-
BECHAR	27	73	170 %	125
TIZI-OUZOU	28	73	180 %	125
MEDEA	37	72	95 %	120
GHARDAIA	15	70	305 %	130
TEBESSA	40	67	92 %	115
TIARET	37	63	70 %	105
SAIDA	33	62	82 %	104
MASCARA	37	62	88 %	104
SOUK AHRAS	35	60	71 %	102
GUELMA	35	60	67 %	102
RELIZANE	38	60	35 %	102
KHEMIS MILIANA	24	58	142 %	100
BOUSAADA	24	50	108 %	85-100
M'SILA	20	49	145 %	84-100
MOHAMMADIA	23	50	118 %	85-100
MAGHNIA	24	51	112 %	85-100
DJELFA	25	51	104 %	85-100
TAMANRASSET	-	23	-	50

\*Estimate based on a growth-rate of 70 percent over a period of six years (40 percent natural growth, 30 percent rural exodus).

**EVOLUTION OF RATES OF URBANIZATION**

	Algerian Pop.		Non-Alg. Pop.		TOTAL	
	No. Alg.	% urb.	No. Alg.	% urb.	No. Alg.	% urb.
1830 (1)					3,000,000	5 %
1866 (2)	2,307,349		189,330		2,496,679	
1868 (2)	2,652,072		261,842		2,913,914	
1876 (2)	2,782,035		344,749		3,126,784	
1886 (3)	3,287,000	8 %	465,000	88 %	3,752,000	15.8%
1906 (3)	4,048,000	10 %	675,000	88 %	4,723,000	18.9%
1926 (3)	4,815,700	13 %	828,600	75 %	5,644,300	22.6%
1931 (3)	5,028,300	14 %	875,700	77 %	5,904,000	23.8%
1936 (3)	5,370,100	16 %	938,800	78 %	6,308,900	24.7%
1948 (3)	6,860,000	20 %	908,700	88 %	7,768,700	27.3%
1954 (3)	7,840,000	20 %	971,100	88 %	8,811,100	27.4%
1966 (3)	8,850,000	23 %	1,025,000	88 %	9,875,000	29.8%
1966 (4)					12,160,000	32 %
1976 (4)					17,422,000	41 %

- (1) Social Secretariat of Algiers, Rural World and Urban World, Algiers 19, p. 37
- (2) Idem, p 37 and Statistical Yearbook of Algeria, 1963-1964, p. 21
- (3) Idem, p 37 and Algerian Economic Tables, 1960, p 22
- (4) General Census of the Population 1966 and 1977, Algiers, State Secretariat of Planning

**SMALL CITIES**  
• (in thousands of inhabitants)

	WEST	CENTER	EAST
<b>Coastal Tell</b>	(Oran) (14) 36 Bordj-Bou (18) 31	(Algiers) (122) 268 Cherchell (12) 38 Bou-lmagh (12) 44 Dellys (18) 30	Collo (11) 41
<b>Interior Tell</b>	Alg. (28) 40  Meksemoula (23) 64 Ain-Témouch (20) 42 Médéa (12) 21 Oued-Rhous (8) 24	S. Moudjah (14) 45 El-Affroun (10) 30 Boufarik (24) 60 Kalls (16) 33 Berroughe (7) 23 Doudra (18) 31 Médéa (12) 23 Lakhdara (10) 30 Boudjema (8) 20 S. El-Ghazal (8) 28 Thama (8) 28 A. Bouam (8) 23	S. Bou Aoudja (24) 66 Ain Beche (20) 44  El Eulma (28) 60 Cherguoum Laid (16) 37 Sedra (14) 30 Mila (12) 28 Ain M'Li (12) 44 O. Zouat (10) 27 El-Khroub (10) 40 Azzala (8) 28 Sidi-Aich (16) 30 El-Medjer (70) 40
<b>Steppes &amp; Aures Nememcha</b>	Franda (12) 24 Sougater (12) 26 Touggouh (11) 21 Medjara (12) 23	Kar-El-Boukhari (16) 41	
<b>Pre-Sahara</b>	El Geyath (18) 38 Aflou (8) 20 Ain-Safia (8) 22	Bou-Sabla (24) 60 Djella (25) 51	
<b>Sahara</b>	Abadia : 12	Quorra 22 Aflou 20 In-Sabla 22	Taflet 18

\* 1966 figures (in parentheses) and 1977 figures. Ex: Collo (11,000 in 1966, 41,000 in 1977).

**EVOLUTION OF URBANIZATION BY REGION**  
(WEST - CENTER - EAST)

POPULATION CITIES		NUMBER OF INHABITANTS		
		WEST	CENTER	EAST
large (+100,000)	1966	648,000	1,032,000	484,000
	1977	638,000	1,781,000	988,000
	% growth	82 %	73 %	83 %
medium 50,000 100,000	1966	181,000	104,000	342,000
	1977	288,000	238,000	818,000
	% growth	83 %	128 %	81 %
small 1-50,000	1966	318,000	271,000	198,000
	1977	384,000	883,000	483,000
	% growth	77 %	314 %	138 %

The heaviest instances of urban growth are taking place in the central region of the nation; the small cities take first place in these growth-rates. In the east, cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants are growing more obviously than the rest of the country. The west shows the most moderate gains, owing to the limited effects of the rural exodus.

8117  
CSO: 4400

# POLITICAL PARTIES DISCUSS PLATFORMS

Tehran IRAN POLITICAL DIGEST in English 30 Sep 79 pp 2-4

[Article translated from KHALQ-E MOSALMAN of 16 Sep 79]

[Text] The Islamic Republican Muslim People's Party of Iran also officially called "Muslim People's Party" and fully supported by Ayatollah-ol-Ozma Seyed Kazem Shariatmadari has 12 representatives in the assembly of experts, four of whom are official members of this party and one of them--Rehmatollah Moghadam Maraghei, former Governor General of [words missing].

He is playing the role of opposition in the assembly of experts on behalf of his party.

When article Five (5) of the draft constitution came up for discussion in the assembly, he strongly opposed the provisions of this article concerning the supreme authority of the representative of the 12th Imam of the Shi'ite sect of moslems (the acting Imam).

Dr Mohammad Beheshti, Vice President of the Assembly spoke in favour of this article which was finally approved by the assembly by a majority vote.

Maraghei later protested that his speech was censored both by the press and radio and TV network while the speech of Dr Beheshti was fully reflected in the press and was relayed on radio and TV.

In a question-answer meeting organized at the Islamic Republican Moslem People's Party Headquarters in Tehran on Friday, September 14, and attended by a large number of party members, followers, intellectuals and students, Maraghei said after the approval of Article 5 hasty steps were being taken to approve the draft constitution. There was a talk inside the assembly that the period of one month will soon be over and thus the process of approving the constitution should be accelerated.



Discussing the problems of 'Councils,' Moghadam Maraghei said that the aims and objects of such councils should be fully clarified. The councils should be set up as autonomous bodies and work on democratic lines and not to hand over all powers to one man. There was talk in certain quarters that the power rests with the centre and 'it is we who would give powers to the councils.' This concept was different from what the councils stand for and in contravention to what Ayatollah Taleghani pleaded during his lifetime, Maraghei said.

**Independent Forum**--The Muslim People's Political Party has provided at its headquarters an independent forum for free discussion by representatives from all walks of life and having different shades of opinions. The discussions take place on every Friday at 5.0 p.m., in the form of a question-answer meeting.

Dr Alirasekh Afshar, a staunch supporter of the Muslim People's Party at the question-answer meeting said that there could be three kinds of governments or supreme authorities:

1. The government of vilayet (religious authority) of the people meaning that the destiny of the people is in their own hands.
2. The government or vilayet of shah or a group of rulers or a vilayet of those persons who take advantage of their privileged powerful positions and exploit social conditions to create an atmosphere which could help in proclaiming themselves as virtual rulers.
3. The government or vilayet of those persons who enjoy top and privileged religious positions.

"If vilayet means leadership such as the leadership of late Dr Mohammad Mossadeq and/or of Imam Khomeini, we do accept it. But, if vilayet means a person who determines for us as to who should be elected and who should not be elected and poses the problem of 'fatwa' (religious decree) for political purposes we do not accept such a vilayet or authority," said Afshar. "We cannot permit anyone to take advantage of his privileged position as 'faqih' (Islamic jurisprudent) and make a claim that he was a symbol of righteousness and was free from guilt or sin. No one has the right to deprive others from thinking freely and independently," Afshar added.

"I had discussed this point at length in one of my articles earlier. Why don't they accept the vilayet or authority of the people?" Afshar said.

Talking about the referendum on crucial and technical matters such as constitution, Afshar said, 70 percent of the people in Iran were illiterate. They cannot understand important problems such as the nationalization of Banks and what were the economic consequences of this nationalization. This requires an expertise.



The innocent people could only understand clear problems such as democracy and the monarchy. They could give their opinion on such evident matters in a simple yes or no. But to hold referendum on highly technical matters such as legislature is meaningless.

It would be exactly like asking the people to give their opinion on medical and surgical problems. What kind of legislature is this? If it is a constitution, it requires a national assembly, Afshar said.

U.S. Arms--Another strong supporter of the Muslim People's Party Dr Mohammad Enayet said at the question-answer meeting:

"Newspapers and magazines have been closed down and they were trying to achieve their 'objective' bluntly and hastily. 'Several important decisions of basic importance were being taken without taking us into confidence.' We really don't know what has happened and is still happening in Kurdistan. I have heard Kurds have sent a telegram to one of the ministers protesting that they were being killed and destroyed by U.S. bombs. If this is true, then we as Iranians, should have a sense of responsibility, if not, they should come forward and tell the people what in fact has happened in Kurdistan.

"On one side the slogan is 'neither east nor west' and every thing coming from the west is abhorred and hated, but on the other side, Phantom Jets and spareparts were being purchased from the United States. If these reports are true, then why are American weapons being used to suppress 'our own brothers,' the Kurds? Such acts are highly objectionable particularly when they come from a government claiming itself as the representative of the nation.

"The process of ratifying the constitution is of particular importance. It is impossible to achieve the desired national objectives by investing all powers into one man, however pious and innocent he may be. The nation is against any such arrangement.

"We condemn strangulation and censorship. We condemn banishment and imprisonment. We condemn the brutal genocide of our brothers and countrymen. And, in the end, we condemn the phoney assembly and its fake members.

"We still pray to God who freed us from the clutches of the devil (shah) to also save us from certain claimants of grandeur."

CSO: 4920

IRAN

PREMIER BAZARGAN GREET'S GDR'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 79 p 6 AU

[Greetings messages from Mehdi Bazargan, prime minister of the provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR]

[Text] To his excellency Mr Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin.

I take pleasure in conveying to you, excellency, on the anniversary of the founding of the GDR my sincere congratulations and best wishes for your health as well as for the prosperity of the GDR people.

[signed] Mehdi Bazargan, prime minister of the provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

To his excellency Mr Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Berlin.

I take pleasure in expressing to you, excellency, on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the GDR, my sincere congratulations combined with my best wishes for good health and success as well as for the well being of the GDR people.

[signed] Mehdi Bazargan, prime minister of the provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CS0: 4403

## 'LE MATIN' REPORTS MEETING OF IRANIAN, IRAQI KURDISH REPRESENTATIVES

[Editorial Report] Paris LE MATIN in French 17 September 1979 carries on page 10 A 1,200-word Herve Chablier report on the Kurd uprising in Iran. "According to Well Informed Sources," Chablier writes, "A secret meeting between representatives of Iranian and Iraqi Kurds took place at the beginning of September. Dr Qasemlu from the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan and Imam Hoseyni, the spiritual leader of Iranian Kurds, had talks with Jalal Talebani, secretary general of the UPK [expansion unknown], the Iraqi Kurd movement which has been waging an armed struggle against Baghdad since 1966. Military cooperation between Kurds of the two countries was on the agenda." Chablier describes the activities of Iranian Kurds, emphasizing that even though they have "many weaknesses," they will be able to survive, just like Iraqi Kurds, in the mountains from which the Iranian forces will find it most difficult to dislodge them. "The majority of the Kurd people support the Peshmergas," Chablier continues, "but a considerable number of them has opted for cooperation with the revolutionary guards." Iranian Kurds seem to be "ready to follow the example of their brothers in neighboring Iraq, but the struggle will be long."

CSO: 4900

# UNEMPLOYMENT APPEARS TO DEFY SOLUTION

Tehran IRAN ECONOMIC SERVICE in English 30 Sep 79 pp 2-4

[Article translated from BAMDAD of 22 Sep 79]

[Text] With the streets of cities, particularly the metropolitan cities, being glutted with unemployed people, numerous problems are created for our society. These include false employment to an unreasonable extent, infringement of city regulations, encroachment on the rights of others, increased drug traffic, midnight mugging of innocent citizens on the way home, and a decrease in social calm and welfare. Unemployment has affected all classes of people regardless of their level and field of education. In each family there are at least two members who are out of a job.

Those people who left their villages in the hope of arriving at greater economic and social welfare in urban areas are now victims of the stoppage of the false prosperity which used to be sustained by speculations in land and housing development. Under a precise plan, colonialism incapacitated the rural industries and economic system with the deceptive promise of creating economic prosperity. What we gained was a morbid "assembly" industry in lieu of our agriculture and rural well-being. The assembly industry has made us so dependent on foreign sources and technology that we feel compelled to surrender our economic, social and cultural freedoms in return for some bolts and nuts. To give up our assembly industry, we automatically make hundreds of thousands of workers jobless in the process.

Under the pretext of creating welfare, colonialism built high-rise buildings and luxury apartments on the north-side of cities, on foothills and next to farmlands. Prices fixed for these lands and buildings was up to 100,000 Rials and between 50,000 and 120,000 Rials per square metre, respectively. These buildings were no answer to the nation's need for housing. Neither were they conforming to our social, cultural and traditional upbringing. These were used as fun places for the well-to-do people. Those buildings which have been left unfinished, would solve no problems even if they were completed. Those ports, airports, roads and

military bases which were being built for the comfort of the colonialists' operations in Iran and not for defending Iran's independence and freedom, will not benefit the nation even if they were completed.

What are we to do with the army of the unemployed? All eyes are turned on the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, expecting it to create jobs for them. But the Ministry acts only as a bridge between the job seekers and the employers. Its job is only to regulate the relationships between workers and employers. The responsibility to create jobs lies with the Plan Organization, the Ministries of Roads, of Housing and Urban Development, of Defence, of Industries; it lies with the Municipalities. The revolutionary government should seek urgent solutions to this problem in the meetings of the Economic Council. By the end of this month, 500,000 highschool graduates who are hoping to enter universities will be turned away and will push to get into the labour market. But is there a market?

Every now and then we hear that the Iranian Oil Company intends to allocate one day of its revenue to this or that province. This is not correct. We should consider priorities. Each province's needs and possibilities should be estimated and surveyed. Perhaps one day's oil revenue of 5 billion rials is adequate for Zahedan but falls short of covering even 10 per cent of the needs of Isfahan. Some 6,000 graduates are turned out by universities and colleges annually. What has the government thought of for these graduates? What have you thought of for those graduates who return to Iran after years of hard study only to serve their country?

Our factories are working below capacity, with fewer workers. Why? Let us listen to what they have got to tell us: about high costs, shortage of raw materials... On this score, the role of the Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines, and of the Ministry of Commerce and of Industries is clear. They should create facilities for these industries. Optimal production will activate the consumer market, lower prices and make goods more competitive.

The writer has been witness to many marches by jobless workers and job-seeking graduates to the Prime Minister's Office and to Ayatollah Taleghani's office, and to the Ministry of Labour, while we know that none of these authorities are responsible for answering these job-seekers. The answer should be sought in the totality of government planning, particularly by the Economic Council, by urgent attention of the Ministers of Industries, of Housing, of Roads, of National Defence; of the Plan Organization and the Municipalities.

The Minister of Industries announced sometime ago that 50 billion rials [in] loans would be extended to owners of small-scale industries to oil the wheels of their industries. But we know that each industrialist will have to spend one-fifth of this promised loan on beating the numerous hampering regulations. They have to spend so much time going from one office to



another, finally to give up the whole idea of getting the loan. The same despondence overtook those who tried to get housing loans from the Bank Melli but got so overwhelmed with series of circulars by the Bank that they threw up their hands in the long run. The figures of the Bank would support this view, and you would still come across the interest which is still being charged by the Bank, the interest which the Imam has termed as "irreligious" and "the worst kind of exploitation." Even Mr Bani-Sadr who was a staunch supporter of a classless, nonexploitive economy and professed his views in so many books and speeches, seems to have given up the struggle out of despair caused by the division of views and efforts inside the government.

Banking on the promises of his colleagues in the council of ministers, the revolutionary minister of labour thought that he could reverse the unemployment trend to the same level of last summer's within six months. That was why he provided only for six months unemployment fund. The fund was a wise thing because there was no insurance against unemployment in the country at the time. The average 10,000 Rials monthly unemployment compensation could keep a working family going until they found a job. But there was incoordination among the various ministries and agencies concerned and they failed to create job opportunities quickly enough. In the first month 180,000 workers, in the second month 85,000 workers, in the third month 40,000 workers, in the fourth and fifth months 20,000 workers requested unemployment fund. This shows that there is on the average a monthly decrease of about 50 percent in the number of fund requesters. But the fund's period is expiring and we do not know what provisions will be provided in the following months.

The Imam, the government and the Minister of Labour expect the workers to work hard. They want to respond favourably to these expectations, especially now that the Minister of Labour has increased the minimum wage rate to 567 Rials instead of 210 Rials. But the former nor the new managers appointed by the government are not doing anything about getting raw materials. Unfortunately, the government is not thinking of industries, either. Instead of extracted oil, the government should import oilseeds so that the vegetable oil factories are kept working. Some industrialists suggested they could manufacture some parts required by the assembly industries inside Iran, but were they helped to do so? How could you win the confidence of small industrialists and encourage them to invest and work? Powder and liquid detergents have been doubled in price because the basic ingredients have to be imported, and that at a much higher price than in the previous year, and the material for producing the plastic containers, too, have to be imported, and that also at a higher price. Some racketeers are raising the prices of their goods on the pretext that wages have gone up.

At the current rate, the consequences of unemployment are bound to erupt into incurable diseases such as poverty, corruption, prostitution, etc. Job opportunities could also be created by implementing development projects



for road and house construction, dam building, creation of power grids, gas network, water supply facilities, telephone communications, railways, feeder roads, rural production centers, development of small-scale and traditional rural industries, renewal of qanats, development of agriculture and livestock breeding, etc. The responsible agencies should come to, and before the name "industry" disappears from our literature, measures are thought out for resuscitating the agricultural poles and re-activating the existing industries.

CSO: 4920

IRAN

BRIEFS

ARREST OF RASTAKHIZ PARTY EX-CHIEF--The Fars Province Corps of Iran's Islamic revolution guards announced today that guards in the city of Marvdasht have arrested the former chief of the defunct Rastakhiz Party in this city. His case has been turned over to the revolution court.  
[Text] [Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 0830 GMT 14 Oct 79 GF]

CSO: 4906

BUYING LAND IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES SAID PREFERABLE TO CONFISCATION

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 24 Sep 79 pp 9, 11

[Article: "Some National Concerns Object to Acquisition of Land in Occupied Territories by Private Citizens"]

[Text] All mayors of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, moderate and extreme, have declared that "Jewish money will dislodge the Palestinian nation from its land." Some complained to the presidents of the United States and Egypt who, in turn, were quick to react to the decision of the Israeli government to allow Jews to buy lands in the occupied territories.

The angry reaction of those opposing autonomy to this decision was to be expected. That decision implies the further entrenchment of Israel in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Without addressing the moral aspect of the decision, its real results in a reality of daily expropriations is a beginning of a fair attitude toward the private Arab land owner and consequently the improvement of Israel's image both from within and from without.

The bad timing and poor public relations (or rather--the loud silence) of the government's decision have again just invited criticism from within and from without. Leftists and government opponents latched on to the colonial theme and did not try to understand the pragmatic meaning of the issue. Paradoxically, national concerns, who deal with land acquisition from West Bank Arabs, call that same decision stupid and maintain that it will hurt activities of the government to expand beyond the Green Line.

Money Talks

People of the Jewish National Fund and Himnuta Co--the executive branch of the government for real estate in the West Bank--as well as the military authorities, complain that no one in the government say fit to ask for their professional opinion before the decision was adopted ("perhaps because they were afraid that we might convince them of our point of view," said a high official of the Jewish National Fund). These concerns claim that the government's decision will attract too much attention to the quiet

but consistent and efficient activities that they have been carrying on for years in spite of the difficulties they entail.

The Arab land owners' fear of punishment meted out by emissaries of the PLO, who threaten, and sometimes even carry out severe sentences against those who sell lands to Jews, limits the activities of Himnuta. They are afraid that now that it has become a national issue and overt threats were published by leaders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, it will be even more difficult to "redeem lands" in the territories.

The officials do not talk about "expropriation" or an "obstacle to peace." They only know the language of hard cash.

The opening of the real estate market in the West Bank to all Jews has turned it into an open field governed by the dry rules of supply and demand. The revocation of the exclusive right of the government to available lands and the entrance of Israelis with money to compete over a narrow field will only bring about sharp price hikes. Any Arab who has gotten over his fear and has agreed to offer his land for sale to Jews will now be able to sell it to the highest bidder.

Himnuta officials know that when the storm in the West Bank subsides it will be more difficult to work there is a free market and that the only ones to gain will be the Arab sellers. At the same time they are careful to warn the individual buyer in the West Bank against the dangers awaiting him--Israeli businessmen have been known to fall into the trap of sly brokers, forgers and any number of complex legal problems resulting from poor procedures in the Jordanian land registry.

The famous story of the abortive attempt of Member of Knesset Yig'al Hurvitz and a group of investors to buy lands in Nebi-Smauel should serve as a warning to all those who think that they now have an opportunity to find bargains from Arabs ("Hurvitz came to us on his knees pleading that we bail him out of the mess," says a high official of the Jewish National Fund).

Gush Emunim people are also upset with the government decision, for their own reasons--they claim that the "Israeli government should expropriate whatever lands are necessary for settlements as well as for defense." The idea of land acquisition by private citizens is in conflict with the idea of a whole land of Israel, the supporters of which believe that there is no such thing as buying the fatherland, which, by right, belongs to the Jewish people. Gush people have always demanded that the government put at their disposal whatever land they needed for settlements by way of seizure or expropriation of private lands "for compensation, of course," they say condescendingly.

Up to now the government has opted to expropriate lands with the pretext of "security needs." At one time the government lawyer was faced by an appeal to the court by Arab land owners who claimed that they had been driven

off their lands. It turns out that had permission to buy lands been granted a few years ago the settlers of Ma'ale HaEdomim could have quickly purchased the lands that had recently been expropriated for them and established facts before the original owners could have a chance to appeal to the Supreme Court. A group of Shayiks at one time approached a broker and offered land for sale to any buyer--except government agencies. Would this deal not have been regarded in the world as more moral and legitimate than expropriation and legal proceedings in front of television cameras?

But Gush Emunim and other Israelis in Ma'ale-HaEdomim or Mitzpe-Yerikho find it more convenient and profitable to maintain spacious apartments in Jerusalem and rent them out to young couples for green dollars. Why should the government now not tell the pioneers who prefer the heights of Ofra to those of the Galilee or the Negev--"Please buy all the land you want and you will receive all the customary support." If Gush Emunim people really love Judea and Samaria more than the Arabs, let them prove it by willingness to sell their homes along the shore and redeem their new property from its current owners, as the law now permits them. The same goes for Arabs. If their national feelings are indeed strong there is no doubt that they will resist the temptation to sell their land for the love of money.

One way or another, in a reality where we are notified of new expropriations in the West Bank almost weekly, it is quite hypocritical to cry out against land acquisition in a free market situation. It should be regretted that the decision, arrived at in the midst of negotiations on autonomy, was not coupled with a government policy to discontinue expropriation of private lands for new settlements. Then Israel could talk in terms of the redemption of land, and all complaints of those critics against driving the Palestinian off their lands could be refuted. No one could force an Arab to give up his land, and if they preferred, en mass, money to a "fatherland," Israel could present the demands of the PLO and its supporters for a land for the Palestinian people as one that has no hold in the Arab countryside on the West Bank.

It cannot be assumed, as Arab public relations would have it, that Jewish money will flood the Arab community. It is doubtful that investors and settlers will be able to achieve what could not be accomplished by officials of the government, who have been in the area for 12 years. But in a reality of seizures and expropriations with no foreseeable intent to change it, any sold piece of land is preferable to one that is confiscated. We can only hope that the government will not adopt the rule that "if you do not sell, we will expropriate...and that land owners will understand the hint.

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CSO: 4805



## ISRAEL

### EL AL IN WORSENING FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 25 Sep 79 p 3

[Article: "El-Al Faces Deficit of Over IL50 Million"]

[Text] Aviation concerns disclosed to HA'ARETZ correspondents on 24 September that "the economic difficulties of El-Al will cause a deficit of IL50 million in the current fiscal year--twice as much as last year's deficit."

The spokesmen, who had inside information of El-Al's situation, said that El-Al's management "cannot see the light at the end of the tunnel" and that they are very worried about the deteriorating situation.

From inside data it turns out that raising fares following fuel prices hikes only made up for \$16 million of the \$29 million expenditures. It also turns out that in planning the budget the company expected an increase of 17.5 percent in the number of passengers in its trans-Atlantic line (which constitutes 60 percent of the company's business) but the actual growth was only 3 percent.

Another item which increased expenses is pilots' salaries. Recent sharp hikes of the dollar have boosted its factor in pilots' salaries by enormous amounts. Their salaries have gone up, following the rise of the dollar, by a few thousand pounds per month. The latter fact has caused restiveness among ground workers, who have not yet signed their contract.

The management is now debating whether to start the new line to Los Angeles.

Because of the company's difficulties management is not considering selling the old jumbos in order to be able to pay for the new ones, which have already been ordered.

### Cutbacks in Profitable Lines

The management is also discussing cutbacks in the London and United States lines which up to now were the most profitable. In the winter there will be 11 weekly charter flights to London, including some Laker flights,

which will be in airbus planes. There will also be charter flights to New York, so that El-Al has to cut back--which means lower income, but not much reduction in expenses.

Although these are the worst times in the company's history, it gave a New Year's bonus to its employees amounting to IL7.2 million. The employees, who originally announced that they would forego the bonus because of the company's financial straits, changed their mind and at the last minute the company was forced to give each employee IL1,200 worth of coupons.

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CSO: 4805

LEGALITY OF HOLDING SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COINS UNDECIDED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Sep 79 p 17

[Article: "Israelis May Be Allowed To Hold Up to Eight South African Gold Coins"]

[Text] The gold craze, which boosted its price on world markets to new records, is affecting Israelis, too. When gold is purchased with pounds there is a double "attachment"; to the dollar, the currency in which gold is traded, and to gold itself, the price of which has skyrocketed in recent months.

About a year ago gold was being traded at approximately \$200 an ounce. Since then it has been going up, until a few months ago it hit the historic mark of \$300 an ounce. Now this price seems a matter of history, and gold prices are now inching toward a new mark of \$400 an ounce. Within less than a week--between the 13th and the 18th of September--the price of gold went up from \$355 to \$375 an ounce.

Investment in gold is attractive--but is not simple. Israeli citizens are not allowed to own gold except in jewelry or in the form of a medal, and then its price is usually considerably higher than its price on world markets.

It is possible to invest in securities via banks, which entail holdings in gold reserves. But differences between selling and buying prices are quite high then and it is not possible to feel the tempting gold, to see it, touch it.

South Africa, the largest producer of gold in the world, has developed a solution for this problem: a coin name "Kroger Rand," which contains exactly 1 oz of gold and is sold for world gold prices with the addition of a small premium of 5 percent. The coin is minted in the national South African mint, not by the government, but by the Kroger Co, owner of the largest gold mines in the world. In contrast to gold medals, this is not a limited edition and coins are minted to suit demand. Therefore, the Kroger Rand has no numismatic value, but it enables individuals to invest in gold even in relatively small amounts (starting with IL12,000, in present terms), to hold gold and pay a relatively low premium of about 5 percent.

It was possible to obtain these coins in Israel mostly in seedy places such as the vendors of Lilienblum St, who have a long history of trading in gold and black market dollars. When interest in gold became prevalent, Bank Le'umi decided to institutionalize the trading of Kroger Rands and obtained the right to distribute them in Israel from the South African minting company.

Trading will start in 2 months, but it is not yet clear whether buyers will be able to hold the coins or whether they will have to be content with a certificate of ownership.

Even after the liberalization of foreign currency Israelis are not permitted to hold gold unless it is jewelry, a medal or some legal currency, i.e., a foreign coin. The Kroger Rand has the properties of all three but is not exactly any of them.

The Bank of Israel, which is in charge of foreign currency, has not yet decided how to treat the Kroger Rand. If it is considered foreign currency then an Israeli citizen will be allowed to hold, in present terms, about eight Kroger Rands. If it is considered jewelry or a medal there will not be any restrictions. But if it is considered gold bullion Israelis will not be allowed to hold it--at least according to present laws.

One way or another, it should be remembered that gold prices are also more likely to go down--sometimes quite fast--than they are to go up.

One factor that contributed to the collapse of the Palestine-Britain Bank was massive investment in gold at a time when its price was going up, assuming the trend would continue. But then gold prices started to fall rapidly and the bank, which invested depositors' money in gold, could not cash the deposits.

8646

CSO: 4805

## 'KUNA' VIEWS AL-ASAD VISIT TO MOSCOW

Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0700 GMT 15 Oct 79 LD

[Text] Kuwait, 15 Oct--Two local Kuwaiti papers today underline the importance of Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's visit to Moscow which begins today.

AL-ANBA' writes that the visit is extremely important in terms of the Soviet attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Soviet position, it adds, requires further clarification since the conflict is gradually falling into the sphere of struggle for influence between Washington and Moscow.

The discussion of this Soviet position, the paper says, must take priority over other matters in the talks between the Soviets and any Arab leader, because it will define the Soviet position toward all other issues, headed by that of arms. "This position will make it clear whether it is possible to talk about war in the case of the failure of all efforts for peace, or whether sitting and waiting will be the only option open to the Arab countries which refuse to join the Camp David caravan," the paper adds.

The paper expresses the hope that these talks will succeed in defining whether Moscow will be able to separate its relations with the Arab countries from its relations with the communist parties. This is a basic matter that should be decided one way or another, the paper says, adding that if Moscow insists on linking these two types of relations, then it will be impossible to create the strategic alliance we hope that Moscow and ourselves will reach so that we may build an infrastructure of relations that will not be exposed to shakeups, stabs in the back of instigation from within.

AL-ANBA' asks Moscow to clarify its final position on the question of the immigration of Soviet Jews to occupied Palestine, and says that this immigration is more serious than all arms because it provides Israel with the human capability to carry arms.

Concluding the paper writes that the Syrian president's visit will answer many of the "vital questions in this stage of our political and military



struggle against the camp which is hostile to our Arab interests and indeed to the Soviets as well."

The newspaper, AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM comments on the same topic. It writes that the visit had been postponed several times in the past because of differences over the quantity and type of arms Damascus is requesting from Moscow. The paper expresses the belief that the Russians will not depart much from their past stand on the question of arms, because of what they like to call their anxiousness to preserve a "balance" [words indistinct] between the Americans and themselves.

The paper draws the attention of the Soviet leadership to the fact that results of the air battles between the Syrian and Israeli air forces make the Soviet position in the Middle East extremely complicated.

AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM adds that Israel has gone too far in its arrogance both militarily and politically, leading to "dispair among the Arabs and increasing the ability of some quarters to accept that this region is an American-Israeli region and no Arabs live in it."

The Syrians now occupy a special position and the Syrian military force has become the Arab striking arm within the framework of the eastern front now that Egypt has left the arena of confrontation with Israel, the paper adds.

The paper warns against not giving Syria arms, at least of the same caliber as those possessed by Israel, for this will mean the destruction by Soviet hands themselves or any presence in the area "and might even lead to more than that."

It is unethical for the Soviets to try to capitalize on the Arab need for arms, the paper says, and thus continue their game of "rationing" and "checking" by agreeing to some demands of arms from the point that he who is in need will accept whatever is offered to him.

Concluding, the paper writes that the Soviet Union must understand fully well what the return of the Syrian leader "in frustration" from Moscow will mean. If the balance of arms is not redressed, the paper says, the Arabs will feel convinced that the Soviets want all Arabs to join the Camp David train and "to bow their heads before the Zionist-American camp which efforts are being made to set up over the entire area."

CSO: 4802

REVOLUTION'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS DISCUSSED ON TENTH ANNIVERSARY

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 29, 30, 31 Aug & 1, 2, 3 Sep 79

/Article by Ilyas 'Abbud: "Al-SAFIR in Jamahiriya on Eve of 10th Anniversary of Revolution"/

/29 Aug 79, p 87

/Text/ Tripoli--Libya is living nowadays the 10th anniversary of the 1 September revolution.

For nearly two and a half years (March 1977) Libya has been carrying the name of Jamahiriya.

Perhaps those who heard or read the name for the first time thought it was the fad of the slogans--a slogan for oneupmanship like the other fads (and how numerous and how heavy they are) in the great Arab homeland. We spent 8 days in this Arab country whose name was given by old Greek and Arab voyagers to the entire African continent which they called the "Continent of Libya" or the "Libyan Continent."

In those 8 days, we tried to examine the experience of the revolution which Libya has been living since the beginning of September 1969: What has this revolution achieved? Where has it succeeded and where has it faltered? How does it view the future? And what about the Jamahiriya's experience?

In those 8 days, we visited some facilities and listened to the people who have lived the experience, both the juniors and the seniors among them. We pondered matters with no small degree of depth and we embarked on endless dialogues with a group of the old and young "intelligentsia" that belongs to the revolution and that suffers what the revolution suffers, i.e. a group of people who can, to a certain degree, give a person a true picture of the changes.

Numerous are the surprises and the distinctive characteristics that preoccupy the mind and that raise all kinds of questions in Libya, particularly the Libya that has been destined to enter into a "breathtaking" race with time for the sake of change.

The first of these surprises and distinctive characteristics is that Libya is still a semi-continent (1,760,000 square kilometers) whereas its population does not exceed 3 millions.

This vast area does not consist entirely of deserts and sands that produce nothing but oil, as some people imagine. It contains the fertile coastal strip that extends along nearly 2,000 kilometers and across a depth of nearly 100 kilometers on the borders with Egypt and the borders with Tunisia. Moreover, there is al-Jabal al-Akhdar /Green Mountain/ which is not distant from Benghazi, al-Jafarah plain, the valleys in the desert and numerous other areas that can be reclaimed agriculturally and turned into fertile lands.

The Libyan desert is closer to a semidesert and gets seasonal rains ranging from 300 to 1,000 millimeters /annually/. This means that the desert has large stores of water that can be exploited for irrigation.

The question that often comes to mind is: How can the Jamahiriyyah proceed to implement the plan to change the rural areas or the plan of the so-called "agricultural revolution" with the small number of people that are qualified to work in agriculture? At the Secretariat of Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, we find answers that cannot but bring up new questions. There is heavy concentration on the reclamation of land in hundreds of thousands of hectares in accordance with the development plan, in addition to the efforts to increase the livestock and to carry out afforestation work with millions of forest saplings. But the principle of investment adopted by the government bans the hiring of agricultural labor, considering such hiring an act of slavery. This principle means: Anybody who, along with his family, is capable of working /on the land/ is welcome to do so.

In any case, we will devote special space for the story of the agricultural revolution.

### The Libya of Heritage

What is surprising in Libya is this close clinging to heritage to the degree that makes it seem that this closeness topped the moving factors behind the 1 September revolution.

The popular reactions to the ages of foreign colonist domination are reflected in many aspects of the public life. Inasmuch as those ages tried to crush and humiliate the Libyan masses, the reactions have come to underline adherence to the national heritage in terms of language, thought and politics. It is forbidden in all the Libyan territories to write signposts, trade marks/al-markat/ and signs of commercial shops in any language other than Arab Arabic and in any script other than the Arabic script. The rush toward Arabization made translators commit funny mistakes. However, this issue is a political issue that can only be understood within its political context.

On the mention of heritage in Libya, some intellectuals in the field of culture take you back to brightly luminous names in the ancient history:

Spartacus, the man who touched off and led the first revolution of slaves in Rome's golden age against the Roman tyrants. Spartacus and most of the men who fought with him, and who were then crucified with him after his defeat on the hands of (Crasius), the tyrant emperor, were Libyans.

Amilcar and Hannibal, the two greatest commanders of the armies of Carthage who defeated the Romans in most parts of the Mediterranean basin, had Libyans in their troops and the Libyan coast was their launching base toward the west.

The Muslim Arab commander 'Uqbah ibn Nafi' who carried the banner of /Islamic/ conquest to North Africa. The Wheelus base was named after this commander after it was liberated from the U.S. imperialism in 1970.

Moreover, the Libyan intellectual who has lived through the revolution always links the name of modern Libya with the name of the first leader of Arab resistance against colonialism in this century, namely that of martyr 'Umar al-Mukhtar. Tens of quarters, streets, schools and institutes carry the name of the martyr. This is a phenomenon that can only be understood from the angle of close popular adherence to the heritage of the forefathers.

#### Full Restoration of Homeland

We will go on with the surprises and the distinctive characteristics of the experience of the 1 September revolution.

The revolution been tantamount to an act of full restoration of the homeland so that this homeland may start its march of building from the zero point or nearly the zero point.

This is something that we feel in the various facilities and sectors of public life, in the services, culture and in education.

Despite the "civilizational leap" that the production of oil in Libya produced in the 1960's, the country continued to be closer to nomadism and to the bedouin and desert traditions. Until the inception of the revolution, the formation of the "middle class" or the so-called "petit bourgeoisie" had not matured yet. The "belt of misery," which usually emerges around the major cities in the developing countries, was concentrated when it first appeared around the cities of Tripoli (the capital) and of Benghazi.

The overwhelming majority of the Libyans (perhaps 90 percent) consisted of those who can be called the city proletariat that owns nothing, not even a technical skill. Most of this majority worked in hard manual labor and in other vocations that require no specialized skills. They also included the poor peasants who lived on small pieces of cultivable land or who worked in modern (olive groves and vineyards) farms owned exclusively by the Italians and the other Europeans. Those who dreamt of revolution and of change were the members of the "intelligentsia" who belonged socially to the class of poor rural people. This was the situation, for example, of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi



and other Free Unionist Officers before they joined the army.

#### Eighty Four Percent of Tripoli Owned by Non-Libyans

These two characteristics (closeness to nomadism and to bedouin traditions and the weak structure of the national middle class) generated among the Libyans another fundamental characteristic, namely that the principle of individual ownership did not take deep roots among them. For example, in a major city like Tripoli, the Italians, Jews and the Europeans owned nearly 84 percent of the city's real estate and housing buildings. The remaining 16 percent was owned by the Libyans, including members of the royal family and its entourage. The situation was not much different in the coastal cities and towns. As for the cultivable lands, most of this land in the fertile coastal areas was owned by the Italians whereas the Libyans tilled scattered pieces deep in the desert in the form of cultivation that most often took a collective quality because of the prevailing tribal affiliations.

What is more, the Italians and the Europeans prevented the Libyan from learning any craft, not even the skill of pruning olive and fruit trees in their farms. Thus, the work of the Libyans employed as hired hands in the Italian farms or in other rural areas was almost completely restricted to tending the land and to sheep herding. When the Italians and the Europeans left the country in October 1970, they left behind a vast wealth represented in:

A total of 1.4 million olive trees, 250,000 citrus trees, 184,000 almond trees, one million grape vines, 295 workshops and 60 plants and factories, in addition to thousands of housing units, plots of lands in residential areas, showrooms, insurance companies and banks.

At the time, there wasn't a sufficient number of Libyans to service this wealth, especially in the agricultural sphere.

This is why the revolution faced two specific options after restoring this national wealth to the homeland: Either let matters proceed chaotically and go on with building a capitalist consumer economy relying on oil as almost the sole source of revenues--thus exhausting the oil resources to pile up luxury commodities imported from abroad, most probably creating a parasitic petit bourgeois class and keeping the poor in their poverty and ignorance--or drawing up development plans seeking to diversify the sources of revenues (especially agriculture and industry) and using the oil revenues as a capital for this purpose. In such plans, the state is the primary initiator. This means the creation of a comprehensive cultural revolution focused on general education, vocational education and university education. It also means adopting socialism as the social line. The revolution took the second option as of 1973 by approving the three-year development plan which ended in 1976. The revolution then approved a five-year plan which will end in 1981.

The high-ranking officials who work in the Secretariat of Planning and to whom we have had the opportunity to listen say: "The option taken by the 1



September revolution was compatible with the revolution's fundamental inclination to regain the homeland in its entirety. Having regained the homeland by liberating it from foreign control and from the foreign military bases and having regained the national wealth from the hands of the foreigners, the revolution had to restore the citizen by liberating him from poverty and ignorance. This means that those harmed by this option are very few when compared to the broad masses of the people. The victims constitute no more than a group of members of the middle class which was still in the stage of formation and which lost the opportunity to organize itself with time into a strong class that takes control of the fates of power."

The question that continues to be present is: How can Libya proceed with the implementation of the development plans in the presence of this enormous shortage of expertise and of specializations, i.e. how can it start from zero or almost zero?

We asked this question in the secretariats of education, municipalities and agriculture. Before we embark on the details of the answer, we must take a pause at the point of the 1 September revolution's embarkation on a special political course at the level of government--a course adopted in implementation of the theory of "direct democracy" or the "people's authority" which Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi formulated in his "Green Book" because this new political course that has accompanied the implementation of the five-year development plan has had various effects. It is perhaps possible to say that the effect is mutual, meaning that when the revolution took the option of development planning and of socialism, it had to project its special thought and its special experience at the level of the instrument of government. This is where the formula of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah emerged.

How did this take place?

/30 Aug 79, p 107

/Text7 Tripoli--After less than 2 days of our arrival in Tripoli and while crossing the broad streets from one sidewalk to another at night, a speeding car caught us unaware and almost hit us. We entered into a sharp argument with the driver and made it clear to him that he, not we, was in the wrong. All he did was to say angrily: "So go complain to the people's committee."

The defiant remark in a country where you are faced wherever you turn your eyes with four words, namely "committees in every place," is not insignificant.

So, the people's committee and not the policeman is the authority to complain to. This is how matters are to the ordinary citizen in the Jamahiriyah.

But what gives the defiant remark a deeper significance is that during our tours in Tripoli for more than a week, we saw no policeman other than the traffic policeman.

When we asked, the answer that we received from various sources was to the same effect: Most of the problems and disputes are now settled by the committees. Very few of them reach the state agencies, the police and the judiciary. A high-ranking official defined matters to us clearly when he said that there are statistics which indicate that the cases referred to the general prosecution in the past 2 years have dropped by 60 percent.

The high-ranking official added: "'The committees in every place' is a slogan that means a fundamental thing, namely that the people's committee is the backbone of government from the bottom to the top and from the base to the peak."

All the standards, criteria and concepts that a person carries about government have to be left in a corner in Tripoli Airport so that a more correct and accurate understanding of what is going on in the Jamahiriyah may be attained.

The airport is run by a people's committee.

The hotel in which we reside is run by a people's committee.

Every facility and every establishment is under the charge of a people's committee.

All these committees are either elected, and represent the government's framework and character, or specific (technical-administrative) committees. The change has also affected the other levels:

The ministry now carries the name of secretariat, i.e. the general secretariat of the people's congress or the general secretariat of the people's committee for this or that affair.

The minister is the secretary, i.e. the secretary of the general people's committee for this or that affair (education, health, municipalities, agriculture, housing, etc.) The directors of establishments have become committee secretaries. In the administrative agency, these committees are specialized committees, i.e. they have jurisdiction over technical matters.

#### Theoretical Basis

So we are facing a special experience in government whose basis is found in the "Green Book, Part One," which is written by Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, the 1 September revolution leader, under the heading of "Democracy."

After criticizing the conventional democracies, the author of the "Green Book" defines the means for the establishment of an instrument of government on the basis of direct democracy. The means are defined in the following:

"The people's congresses are the only means for the people's democracy.

"Any system of government different from this system, the system of people's congresses, is undemocratic. All the systems of government now prevailing in the world will continue to be undemocratic until they find this system. The people's congresses are the final point of the movement of peoples toward democracy.

"The people's congresses and the people's committees are the ultimate fruit of the struggle of peoples for democracy.

"Direct democracy is the ideal and indisputable system when actually established. Considering that it is impossible to gather all the people at once, regardless of their number, to study, deliberate and decide their policy, the nations turned away from direct democracy and this democracy continued to be a utopian idea detached from the world of reality. It was replaced by numerous theories of rule, such as councils, partisan coalitions and referendums, which led to isolating the people from running their affairs, to usurping their sovereignty and to the monopolization of policy and sovereignty by those successive instruments which struggled for power, beginning with the individual, the class, the sect, the tribe and ending with the council or the party.

"Democracy has one system and one theory only. The difference between and the disagreement of the systems that claim to be democratic is nothing but a proof that they are not democratic. The people's authority has only one face and the people's authority can be realized through only one means, namely the people's congresses and the people's committees. There is no democracy without people's congresses and without committees in every place."

#### Dawn of Age of Jamahiriyahs

The speech delivered by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi to the emergency session of the General People's Congress held in Sabha (in the heart of the desert) from 28 February to 2 March 1977, the session which approved creation of the government of direct democracy, said:

"From the desert, our people are declaring at the end of the 20th century after the birth of Christ, may peace be upon him, the end of the age of the conventional republics as the French people declared to the world in the 18th century the end of the age of monarchies and the start of the age of republics.

"The desert grows no grass but gives growth to values and revives the immortal cultural messages. Thus history confirms in every age that the desert is fertile soil for sublime ideals. But what desert? It is the desert of the great East, the place where divine revelation descended and the cradle of ancient civilizations.

"Today, in a spot of that same desert, rather from the desert known as the Great Desert, in the homeland of the Arabs, the Berber Arabs, the Tuareg Arabs and al-Tabu tribes, the cornerstone of the age of the jamahiriyahs, the age of

the masses is being laid down.

"Thus, and as the great philosopher Aristotle said, something new always comes from Libya."

#### Legal-Constitutional Framework

These ideas turned into a legal-constitutional framework through the resolution adopted by the session of the General People's Congress held in Sabha from 28 February to 2 March 1977. The prelude to the resolution states:

"Having regained through the revolution control over their affairs and over their present and their future destiny, the Libyan Arab people, with the help of God and with constant abidance by His book as the source of society's guidance and law, declare the establishment of the people's authority and herald to the peoples of the earth the break of the dawn of the age of the masses."

The first article designates the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah as the official name of Libya. Article No 2 states that "the Koran is the law of society."

Article three defined the specifications and formulas of the people's authority as follows:

"The direct people's democracy is the basis of the political system of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in which authority belongs to the people and to no others. The people shall exercise their authority through the people's congresses, the people's committees and the trade unions. The law shall define the work method of the congresses and committees and their times of convocation. The people's authority shall consist of:

- "1. The people's congresses.
- "2. The people's committees.
- "3. The trade unions.
- "4. The General People's Congress."

#### People's Congresses

- "1. The people shall be divided into basic people's congresses.
- "2. All citizens shall register their names for membership in the basic people's congress in their area.
- "3. Each basic people's congress shall select a leadership committee from among its members.



## People's Committees

"1. The masses of the people's congresses shall select people's committees to manage all the facilities and to be accountable to the people's congresses.

## Trade Unions

"The members of each craft shall form their own union to defend their vocational rights.

## General People's Congress

"It is the national meeting place for the people's congresses, the people's committees and the trade unions. The General People's Congress shall have a general secretariat which will undertake implementation of the general state policy drawn up by the people's congresses. This secretariat shall also prepare for the convocation of the Congress's sessions, shall prepare its agenda and implement its resolutions and recommendations. The General Secretariat of the General People's Congress shall consist of a general secretary and a number of secretaries, each entrusted with supervising one of the state's sectors of activity. The General Secretariat of the General People's Congress shall draft the bills in accordance with the Congress's recommendations and resolutions."

Articles four and five spell out the provisions for electing the Congress's general secretary and define his tasks and duties. Article six states the following: "The General People's Congress shall elect the general secretary and the other secretaries. It is the authority that shall relieve them and accept their resignations from the posts with which they are entrusted. The general secretary and the other secretaries shall be mutually accountable for their actions. Moreover, each secretary shall be accountable for the sector he supervises."

Articles seven and eight describe how the budget should be issued, how the agencies should be organized and how the civil servants should be appointed. Article nine calls for training all the people on arms, stating the following: "Defending the homeland is the responsibility of every citizen. Through military training, the people shall be trained and armed. The law shall define the method to regulate the preparation of the military frameworks and the general military training."

Article 10 says: "The phrases 'Council of Ministers, prime minister and minister concerned' shall be replaced wherever they occur by the phrases 'General Secretariat of the General People's Congress, the general secretary and the secretary concerned.'"

These are the general structural formats of the state of the Jamahiriyah in Libya.

We had more than one session of discussions with members of the intelligentsia who have accompanied this experience. It is the opinion of these people that the naming constitutes an innovation in the modern world's political dictionary. It is, moreover, a special innovation by the Arabic language because it is probably difficult for any other language to produce such an accurately expressive derivative. The 1870 socialist revolution of Paris carried the name of the "Commune." The word "Jamahiriya" is more closely tied to the thought of the direct democracy and the people's authority."

### Flesh-and-Blood Experience

When we pose the question: The issue is not one of names but of a political experience and a political choice by the people. If we examine the projected formulas deeply /we find/ that they contain the danger of diluting the issues, thus causing the vanguard to be lost and chaos to set in.

The immediate answer we get is: Yes, the Jamahiriya is a political experience. But it is a flesh-and-blood experience constantly reflected in the direct popular conduct of policy by the people through the basic people's congresses and the trade unions and ties and then through the General Peoples's Congress. Through this process, the people select the best. With time, the leading vanguard will be formed spontaneously, provided that it does not turn into a domineering group or bureaucratic class. It is evident that the basic people's congresses are the guarantee to prevent such a transformation. The present experience is encouraging millions of people to create and to change history, in addition to entrenching a new concept of government which contains many of the characteristics of individualism /al-faradah/.

The dialogue branches out and then focuses on the question: Is the experience of the Jamahiriya a state of surpassing the revolution or is it, according to French writer (Regis Doubre), "a revolution within the revolution?"

Some remarks were agreed upon unanimously. The gist of those remarks was: The theory of the direct democracy or of the people's authority as projected by the "Green Book" did not descend from heaven in a basket. The author of this theory is the last man to claim that it came to him as a divine revelation. This theory is the result of the long labor of the modern political thought, plus the objective given facts distinguishing the 1 September revolution, including the fact of the Libyan people's adherence to their national heritage and desert traditions and the nature of the social structure of these people with their overwhelming majority that has not been corrupted by the thought and morals of the small bourgeoisie, especially at the level of ownership. This is what has created this broad popular disposition to accept the experience and to carry on with it. If we review some examples of the writings of the masters of modern political thought, most of which focus on projecting the issue of freedom in its broad sense and on criticizing the experiences of the western democracy--both in its conventional parliamentary forms and in the form of the single-party applied in the communist countries--we would find that these writings focus on exposing the numerous gaps in this democracy and

show these democracies as masked dictatorships. These writings have also not failed to hint at alternative formulas that are very close to the concept of direct democracy or the people's authority.

In the theory of the "Constant Revolution," it seems that Trotsky's biggest fear is that of the transformation of the partisan apparatus into a domineering bureaucratic apparatus.

In his well-known book "The New Class," Yugoslav writer (Diglas) condemns with scathing detail the experience of the socialist countries and calls for a fundamental change in the one-party system, even though he is one of the founders and leaders of the communist party.

Jean-Paul Sartre, the founder of existentialism in France, criticizes in many of his political writings the forms of the western democracy, exposing at times a number of negative aspects conflicting with democracy in this form.

In his book "Revolution Within The Revolution," we find (Regis Doubre) straining for a formula that goes beyond the parliamentary democracy on the one hand and the one-party system on the other hand, focusing on the dangers of bureaucratic domination in this system.

The political thoughts projected by Robert (Marcuz) have always called for demolishing the walls that obstruct the broad masses, especially the youth, from engaging in political action. These thoughts have bitterly criticized the most deep-rooted western democracies (United States, France).

There is also Dr (Franz Favon), the struggler in the heart of the Algerian revolution, who predicts in his well-known book, "The Tormented Of The Earth," the downfall of the conventional democracies and who warns of the dangers of the rise of a class or a group that engages in bureaucratic dictatorial domination in the recently-independent third world countries, especially from among the parties that carried out the action for liberation from colonialism. It is needless to say that (Favon's) words have been confirmed by numerous events. Perhaps the writer who comes from African origins (the Martinique Islands) and who accompanied the march of the Algerian revolution has been the age's most explicit thinker in heralding the dawn of the age of the masses. The dream of complete equality among people predominates his book from cover to cover. This is evident in the title, "The Tormented of the Earth."

#### Rejection of Imperialism and Its Cultural Values

The gist of the remarks also includes:

All this may not so much mean that al-Qadhdhafi has been familiar with the abovementioned concepts as much as it means that the search for an alternative instrument of government to those instruments produced by the conventional democracies has been projected by the international political thought and as much as it means that "purely Libyan" characteristics connected with the

national and social inclinations of the 1 September revolution are what dictates the emergence of the theory of direct democracy in Libya. One of these characteristics is the fact that the Libyans were on the eve of the revolution among the peoples most keenly aware of the falseness of the western democracy and most displeased with the western civilization generally. The experience of the Libyans in their fight against the Italian colonialism during which they lost nearly three quarters of a million martyrs and their later suffering under the British and U.S. imperialism during the days of the monarchy made them reject imperialism. Imperialism's humiliating domination made the Libyans reject all its cultural values and look for a political formula that has no connection with these values.

#### Liberation From Need

Concerning the "Libyan characteristics," the discussion goes on to say, the statements "no democracy without people's congresses and committees in every place" would not have led to a real direct democracy or to a true people's authority if they had been projected in isolation, i.e. with the social situation remaining unchanged. If this had been the case, the natural outcome would have been that domination, control and influence would have remained in the hands of those who possessed the material power. This means that for the people to be free, they must be liberated from their needs. This is why the Green Book projected the slogan of liberation from need as a fundamental condition "for the actual free existence of people." This slogan required the application of other fundamental slogans that blow up the mainstays of capitalist ownership and that block the path of its return. These slogans are:

"Partners not hirelings," which concerns the commercial and industrial business sectors.

"A house belongs to him who inhabits it," which deals with the housing sector.

"Nobody owns the land," which deals with agriculture.

This is the complete formula of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah as it is being applied through implementation of the development plans.

/31 Aug 79, p 8

/Text Tripoli--During the holy month of Ramadan, day turns into night and night into day in the Jamahiriyah.

From the time after fast breaking until daybreak, i.e. from 2100 until 0300, the broad streets of Tripoli are jammed with traffic and the shops are open and receive thousands of people who are in a hurry and eager to shop in preparation for the /Ramadan holiday.

Some public administrations also open their doors and receive people with requests. You seek most of the secretaries (ministers) in their secretariats at this time of the night and you find them there because what is needed is to



make up for the time lost during the day.

During the day, the government offices do not open before 1000 and most of the officials cannot be found in their offices except between the hours of 1100 and 1200, after which everybody goes to rest before fast breaking. They fast and fasting in the conscience of peoples goes beyond being a religious duty and seems to be a strict tradition from which nobody deviates.

As a result of all of this, our appointment with one of the secretaries had been set for 2300, for an unlimited time and for a dialogue dealing with all matters and all concerns.

The secretary was very busy with contacts he was holding with others by telephone or by the two-way radio lying on his office desk. He was receiving information and issuing instructions. At times the contacts were with the port to facilitate the unloading of ships and to clear goods, at others they were with an official in charge of one of the major commercial warehouses (which are public establishments run by city committees) and at other times the contacts were with this or that municipality or this or that /local/ government: Misratah, Benghazi, etc. It was natural that we would live moments of breathtaking astonishment before inquiring about the expression "government" which cropped up in the conversations with Benghazi, Misratah, Sabha and other cities outside the capital.

#### "Agreement"

The moment of peace and of conversation then came and we were surprised to find the secretary insist that his name not be mentioned out of his desire not to show off and because "everybody is working and everybody is performing his role. It is not our right to overshadow the role of anybody."

After a interesting argument on the issue, we reached "a gentleman's agreement" compatible with the desire of the secretary who seemed to us to be living, through the responsibility he shoulders, in the center of the experience of the "direct democracy" and that he is aware of all its details and intricacies.

Because the executive agencies working under the supervision of his secretariat are entrusted with managing the development plans, especially in the countryside where the agricultural revolution is proceeding actively and where building is assuming fundamental forms that affect all the sectors of public life, we find ourselves forced to violate the agreement and to mention the name of the secretary. He is Abu-Zayd Durdah, the secretary of municipalities.

#### Strategy of Development Plan

Before presenting the dialogue conducted with the secretary of municipalities and for greater clarification of the ideas and remarks projected, we offer here a summary of the development plans, quoting the Secretariat of Planning.



In the book issued by this secretariat in November 1978 under the title of "Spotlights on Economic and Social Development in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah," there is a detailed review of the march of the development activity since the inception of the 1 September 1969 revolution.

The secretariat first points out that Libya's national economy before the revolution was a single-track economy that relied almost completely on the oil revenues and that these revenues were used to establish a consumer economy founded mainly on importation from abroad, especially on the importation of luxury goods. The first step taken by the revolution was embodied in the government's seizure of control over the oil sector, the banking sector and the insurance companies.

The Secretariat of Planning says: "Adoption of the path of socialism was aimed at achieving social justice and was a necessary condition for confronting the inherited economic and social problems and for following comprehensive scientific planning as a course for managing and directing the national economy toward progress. The 1973-75 three-year plan emanated from this inclination and made a satisfactory stride on the path of liberating the national economy from the domination of the oil sector. This plan also helped to lay down the fundamental mainstays of the phase of social and economic revival.

"The 1976-80 five-year transformation plan has been built on the basis of a general strategy with clear-cut features that can be summed up in the following:

"A. Putting an end to the oil sectors's domination of the economic life so that this domination may not constitute an inlet to any foreign control. This is to be done through focusing on development of the non-oil sectors so as to diversify production and, consequently, to raise the capability for exporting oil products in the longer run.

"B. Exerting efforts to raise the interaction of the national economy's sectors with one another so as to avoid subservience to foreign economies.

"C. Working to generate an economic surplus in the non-oil sectors capable of financing investments after depletion of the oil reserves.

"D. Taking into consideration the principles of site planning and of reducing disparity between the income of various areas and individuals in selecting projects and determining their priority."

The Secretariat of Planning points out that one of the aspects of economic imbalance before the revolution was the fact that the growth rate in agriculture did not exceed three percent and in industry seven percent, keeping in mind that the value of the production of both sectors was low. Between 1962 and 1969, the number of agricultural workers dropped from 145,000 to 125,000 workers. At the educational level, only five percent of the students joined vocational training the 85 percent of the students were in the elementary stage.

## More Than 10 Billions

Describing the results of the three-year plan, the Secretariat of Planning says: "The three-year plan has accomplished its goals of realizing the new development strategy and of achieving the goal of an actual growth rate of 17.5 percent annually in the non-oil economic sectors. The plan has also made a satisfactory stride in correcting the course of the economic structure, thanks to the strong push in the capital investment implemented in the plan, amounting to 2.67 billion dinars, and to the implementation of the big projects, especially in agriculture and industry."

As for the five-year (1976-80) plan, the Secretariat of Planning says: "The plan program contains high investments amounting to 7.84 billion dinars. This is liable to raise the rate of investment from 30 percent at the outset of the plan to 32.5 percent at its end. The greatly important and significant transformation in the plan is based on allocating 97.5 percent of the total program for the non-oil economic activities and only 2.5 percent for oil and gas production. This is in comparison to only 60 percent for the non-oil activities and 40 percent for the oil activities in the 1960's. The planned investment distribution underlines the fact that this investment has been distributed among all the economic activities, especially agriculture and forests, fisheries and the conversion industries, in investment proportions compatible with the goals of creating a diverse economy founded on big agricultural and industrial production, in addition to providing the proper degree of public services.

"The share of agriculture, conversion industry and electricity sectors alone has amounted to nearly 3,152,500,000 dinars or the equivalent of 40.2 percent of the program's total investments. The transport, storage and communications sector has been given, in its capacity as one of the most important infrastructure sectors, a share of 1,477,700,000 dinars or 18.9 percent of the investments. The education and health services have been given 611.1 million dinars and housing projects a sum of 1,194,300,000 dinars."

The Secretariat of Planning goes on to say: "The actual growth rates during the plan are estimated at 14.1 percent in the non-oil sectors and 7.8 percent in the oil sector. This means a general growth rate of 10.7 percent. In view of the fact that the main starting point for diversifying the national economy is based on enhancing development in the agriculture and industry sectors, the plan seeks to raise the growth rate of the first by a compound rate of 15.8 percent [annually] and of the second sector by 30.7 percent."

## Experience in Real Life

In the light of these inclinations of the development plan which focuses on developing the countryside, the responsibilities of the Secretariat of the General People's Committee for Municipalities may be understood. On the one hand, this secretariat is the one most closely connected with the "direct

democracy" experience because this secretariat supervises 44 municipal people's committees which are more like local governments. On the other hand, this secretariat is in direct contact with development implementation as a result of the broad administrative powers given to the municipalities.

We return to the interview with Abu-Zayd Durdah (we beg him to excuse us for violating the "agreement").

Let us point out first that the secretary of municipalities in the Jamahiriyah is in his early thirties, lean and has a lean dark face which has all the features of rural people in any Arab country, and not just in Libya in particular. You imagine him to be a Lebanese from al-Biqa' or the south, an Iraqi from Karbala' or an Algerian from (Oran). He is very fond of smoking and hardly extinguishes one cigarette before lighting another. Those with whom he was talking on the phone or by the two-way radio seemed, from their tone, to be relatively friendly with the secretary and relations did not seem to be purely administrative.

It was natural that our discussion would start with the experience of the people's committees in real life, with their tasks, with the criteria for selecting people to the membership of these committees and with their performance of their work.

He said: "The committees are a direct expression of the people's will. The people elect them directly in the basic congress and in the trade unions and organizations without any influence or intervention by a higher authority. The experience in its entirety makes all the people without exception join and engage in politics. The tasks of the committees focus on studying, planning, researching and following up the administrative activity, all within the framework of the development plan. As for the criteria for selection /ikhtiyar/, they are, of course, capability and sincerity in work. In the process of selection, the people turn spontaneously to the elements of capability and sincerity in the person concerned. Even if they choose erroneously the first time, the second election comes and they correct their fault in this election."

Condition of Revolution Is to Continue

/Question/ And what about the revolutionary committees' relations with the peoples's committees?

/Answer/ The first are tantamount to the nerves of the human body and the second are the extremities that move and do the work. This means that the task of the revolutionary committees is to bestir, guide, follow up and exercise control. They make no decisions and they engage in no implementation. The decision is in the hands of the people's congress and implementation is the responsibility of the people's committee. The members of the revolutionary committees do not work full time on their jobs so as not to give rise to the danger of their transformation to a domineering bureaucratic class. Moreover,

the concept of the revolutionary committees is totally different from the concept of a party. There is a difference in the starting point and in the goal. These committees do not exercise power. Rather, their task is the revolution and one of the conditions of a revolution is its continuity. The long-range aspiration is to have the entire people or an overwhelming majority of the people transformed into a vanguard, into an awareness of the continuity of the revolution. This goal is not impossible to achieve as long as what is required is to have the exercise of politics turned into the obsession of all the masses.

#### How Are Needs To Be Liberated?

Considering that the secretary's telephone contacts revolved around the "people's markets" and the need to secure sufficient goods for them because of the strong popular demand they are facing, the discussion turned to these markets in their capacity as a part of the procession toward liberation from need.

Abu-Zayd Durdah said: "The fact is that the "people's markets" are a formula whose aim is to liberate people from the exploitative merchants. In implementation of the slogan of liberation from need, the revolution has projected the slogan of "partners and not hirelings" and has implemented this slogan through the popular march on the private sector establishments which are now run by the people's committees and in which the hired hands have actually turned into partners. The revolution has also projected the slogan of "a house belongs to him who inhabits it" and has proceeded to implement this slogan. By implementing these two slogans, people have become free to exercise the direct democracy because their needs for work and housing have been liberated from dependence on anybody. At the level of cultivable land, the revolution is implementing the slogan of "nobody owns the land." Anybody who wishes to and is capable of working in agriculture, along with his family members, has the right to benefit from the land. The revolution secures for him the best conditions: A house, 50 hectares of land, 100 heads of sheep, two heads of cattle, two camels and fertilizers, fodder and loans. The only condition is that he refrain from hiring others and from turning into an exploiter of the efforts of others."

The secretary went on to say: "As for the consumer commodity trade, we can say that the experience of the "people's markets" has produced good results so far. All kinds of commodities are secured to these shops in quantities that always exceed the demand. What makes people turn to these markets is the big difference between their prices and the prices of the privately-owned shops. The difference amounts at times to 100 percent and at others to 120 percent. The smallest difference ranges between 30 and 40 percent. Some warehouses of the people's markets are emptied and re-stocked three times a day, each with goods worth 700,000 dinars. Despite their low prices, the people's markets have suffered from no deficits. The situation has been the opposite. This gives an indication of the degree of exploitation existing in the private trade sector. There are 46,000 merchants engaged in the consumer commodity trade.



We seek to expand the framework of the people's markets movement to the degree whereby this figure is reduced to the third or a little less. Only those who can engage in the trade business by themselves without hiring others may remain in the business. We now have eight enormous markets, five of them in Tripoli and three in Benghazi. The specifications of these markets are that each consists of seven floors, has the necessary warehouses and its procedures are as simple as possible. There are also 61 medium-size markets, 82 small markets and 42 markets in rural population centers, each market with a space of 2,100 square meters. All these markets are run by the municipal people's committees. The efforts are always focused on supplying more goods at suitable prices."

### Issue of People

The secretary of municipalities concluded by saying: "We thus notice that the experience of the direct democracy is an indivisible whole. One of the most important conditions of its success is to liberate the people's needs from dependence and exploitation. This act of liberation has produced good social effects. Instead of having some people turning their attention to "raising" money, we find them liberated from money and focusing their efforts on raising the family. Moreover, the bonds of kinship among people have become stronger. Implementation of the slogan of "a house belongs to him who inhabits it" has encouraged building owners to relinquish their apartments and houses to their children and relatives. This is not a bad phenomenon as long as the person to whom the property is relinquished does not own property and needs the house. Even the daily problems have dropped by a large degree and policemen have begun complaining for lack of something to do. This is due to the fact that the people's committees solve numerous problems amicably and with a family spirit. All these facts mean that the direct democracy has become the people's cause. The people have taken hold of this democracy with their own hands and this democracy has not remained the captive of the leadership's decisions, considering that the leadership has completely handed authority to the people and has devoted itself to the revolution."

We asked the secretary of municipalities about the most important problems that have faced the revolution in its implementation of these measures.

He said: "The fact is that small problems did crop up and were settled quickly and with the smallest degree of clamor. No real problems that need to be examined have emerged. The reason for this is the just measures on the one hand and the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people has benefited on the other hand."

[Question] In implementing the slogan of "a house belongs to him who inhabits it," weren't injustices committed, as in the case, for example, of a person who supports a family and is incapable of working and who depends for a living on an income that he gets from renting several apartments that he owns?

[Answer] The truth is that no injustice of the kind has been committed because



the measures have excluded rental income amounting to 300 dinars or less. Moreover, the owner collects a compensation for the apartments whose ownership is turned to their inhabitants under the supervision of the Secretariat of Housing. In addition to this, there is the social security from which every family supporter and every person unable to work benefits.

#### Forty Four People's "Governments"

/Question/ The discussion finally turned to the municipalities specifically. We asked: What is the story of the Misratah government and the Benghazi government?

/Answer/ What is power? It is wealth and weapons. The municipalities are under the charge of people's committees elected by the basic people's congresses. These municipalities supervise specialized committees, i.e. committees specialized in various affairs, such as health, supply, education, agriculture, etc. Thus, the municipal people's committee is more like a local government that holds the decisions in regard to the resources and the channelling of investments in accordance with the general development plan. The municipal people's committees are in charge of spending on projects worth hundreds of millions of dinars. In the rural areas, these committees are in charge of implementing the agricultural revolution plan by reclaiming lands, developing forests and orchards, distributing the reclaimed lands and whatever has anything to do with development and growth. Moreover, the municipal people's committee also supervises training the people on weapons for defending the homeland, should the need arise.

The revolution is looking forward to a time when there will be no need for the General People's Committee and when the 44 municipal people's committees will become like 44 people's governments.

We finally agreed on a visit to one of these "people's governments" and the choice fell on Misratah, which is the closest to Tripoli (only 350 kilometers). We made the visit on the morning of the following day.

/I Sept 79, p 8/

/Text/ Tripoli--The road from Tripoli to Misratah passes across the fertile coastal strip which gets seasonal rains ranging from 800 to 1,000 millimeters.

When you leave the outskirts of the capital toward the east, you face the dark green olive groves blocking the horizon on both sides. The trees are big, planted in orderly rows and well-pruned and each looks as if it is an artist's painting. Most of them are no less than 25 years old.

The middle-aged driver, uncle Abu-Mas'ud, turns to me and says sadly with a pure bedouin accent: "Brother, do you see all this? It belonged to the Italians previously." The man is about 60 years old, has a very dark rural face and wears the traditional Libyan outfit: white pants, a shirt and a wine-red

fez. It seemed to me that he was living moments of remembrance. I said to him: Come on tell us about the Italians, uncle. He said with a smile: "I have a lot. Our people used to attack the Italians in bars /al-khamamir7." He paused for a moment and then went on to say with a low voice: "When Mu'amm<sup>ar</sup> came, they fled."

We had covered nearly half the distance and the countryside looked completely bare: The sky was clear and lightly green farms were scattered here and there in the land. We started to climb a plateau and the highway was still a two-land recently paved highway. Abu-Mas'ud said: "All this highway is new and was built after the revolution." He stretched out his hand pointing at the remains of the old road and saying: "The world has turned upside down, brother." He seemed please to me. We were driving along a mountainous area planted in an orderly manner with forest trees (pine and larch trees). The trees are no more than 4 or 5 years old. I asked Abu-Mas'ud: Do you have any children? He answered immediately: "I have 11 children, eight sons and three daughters. The oldest four are with Mu'amm<sup>ar</sup> in the army. The rest are in school."

#### Revolution and Greenery

We kept on driving on our way while chatting. We passed by a cement plant and by a number of small villages scattered on both sides as far as the eye can see. We were nearing Misratah and the olive groves and some fields cultivated with vegetables, as well as date palm and citrus groves, started to reappear. Abu-Mas'ud said: "Before, you could see nothing green. The revolution has brought water and people to cultivate the land."

We reached the outskirts of Misratah. You see nothing distinctive in these outskirts. All you can see is new buildings, most of them incomplete, spreading in all directions over a large area. There are also some plants and maintenance workshops. The city planning is established on the circular system which seems to have taken into proper consideration the possibility of maximum construction expansion. In the heart of the city, you are faced with the distinctive rural characteristic: The square containing some trees and the market crowded with shops and with people eager to buy what they need on the eve of the /Ramadan7 feast. This makes you think that you are in the center of any rural Lebanese town, such as al-Nabatiyah or Ba'labakk. Even the people's faces are not that different from the faces of our people.

#### At Misratah Municipality

We headed directly for the municipality and proceeded to meet the people's committee secretary. This secretary is Ibrahim al-Dabiyah, a young man of 30. He first explained the way the people's committee for the town and for the area is elected:

"There are five branches: The center and the villages. Each committee consists of five members and includes three sections: The secretariat, the assistant and

the rapporteur. The election is carried out in the people's congresses in which all the people take part. These /presumably people's congresses/ then turn into a basic people's congress which elects the municipality's general people's committee."

Regarding the efforts of the municipal people's committee in the sphere of development, Ibrahim said: "The services have increased by a large degree since the revolution's inception. The municipality in the /provincial/ center follows up the implementation of the projects within the framework of the five-year plan. These projects include roads, lighting, public parks, /public/ baths and summer resorts. We are especially concerned with supplying drinking water by drilling wells and building reservoirs. The allocations for these projects have amounted to 5 million dinars. The sewerage project alone has been accorded on contract for a sum of 6 million dinars. There are also works belonging to the center that are being implemented by the municipality directly, with help from volunteer students and boy scouts during certain seasons."

From the municipality, we proceeded to the administrative complex that houses the specialized committees concerned with health, education agriculture, housing and industry. We familiarized ourselves with their method of work. The most remarkable aspect of these committees is that each committee runs the administrative and technical branch under its jurisdiction. These committees hold periodic meetings. We learned from Ibrahim al-Dabiyah that the committees are preoccupied these days with preparing for the next five-year plan in view of the fact that the current plan is about to end.

#### Students Prepare for Tree Planting

Being in a rural town in which the signs of the agricultural revolution appear in all aspects of its life, it was natural that we would stop at the People's Committee for Agriculture and Land Reclamation. In front of the secretariat building, our attention was drawn by a large crowd of more than 300 adolescents ranging in age from 13 to 17 years. Some were competing to enter the premises and others were standing in a long line in the building's yard. We asked Sadiq Ahmad Shikab, the committee's secretary, about the story of the adolescents and he said: "They are junior high and high school students. They worked at the secretariat during the summer holiday in filling special plastic bags for planting forest seedlings. They are now here to collect their wages. They worked for us on a piecemeal basis. Any student who filled 500 bags was accredited with a day's work. The monthly wage is 80 dinars. The program calls for planting 4 million forest and fruit seedlings. In the /new/ plan, the program will be developed to include 10 million seedlings. When the rainy season comes, groups of students, teams of boy scouts and the armed forces volunteer to plant these seedlings."

Sadiq Shikab is a 1960 graduate of the Tripoli School of Agriculture. He worked previously as an agricultural guide. When the people's authority was established, he was elected a member of the committee for Misratah area and then secretary of the Agriculture and Land Reclamation Committee. Speaking to

us about the works supervised by his committee, he said: "We have veterinary units and a veterinary clinic which offer free services to the citizens. We are currently reclaiming 15,000 hectares of irrigated land. This area will expand by the end of the plan to include 30,000 hectares. The reclaimed lands will have wells and houses. As for the distribution of these lands, the priority will go to those who can work in agriculture and have the desire to own land." He also said: "The reclaimed lands are government-owned lands. The truth is that most of the land is state-owned. Feudalist ownerships as those existing in the East did not appear in our country, except for the Italians who took hold of fertile areas along the coast and cultivated them with olive and citrus trees."

The agriculture secretary further said: "The secretariat runs a cattle-breeding plant which contains 1,600 cows and produces 11,000 liters of milk daily. There is a heavy demand by the farmers for the possession of pure strains /mu'assalah/ of cows. Some possess 2 or 3 cows and the committee supplies them with fodder at 50 percent the price. The cultivation of fodder crops, olive trees, palm trees and grape vineyards flourishes in the area of Misratah. We now have 275,000 olive trees, 200,000 date palm trees and 56,000 almond trees, in addition to tens of thousand of grape vines."

While in Misratah, we visited a recently built shoe factory in which 600 male and female workers are employed. The number of female workers is nearly 50. The factory manager told us that the factory machinery was imported from the Federal Republic of Germany and that the factory now produces 6,000 pairs of shoes daily and supplies the army's demand. He also said that all the technicians working in the factory are libyans.

So that the picture of the agricultural revolution that is being carried out in all the rural areas may become complete before our eyes, we move to the figures of the Secretariat of General People's Committee for Agriculture and Land Reclamation. These figures indicate that the reclamation program covers 1.59 million hectares distributed as follows: 510,000 hectares in al-Jafarah plain area, 523,000 hectares in al-Jabal al-Akhdar area, 37,000 hectares in Fezzan area, 97,000 hectares in al-Kufrah and al-Sarir area and 422,00 hectares in al-Khadr and al-Salul area. The part of the program implemented so far has amounted to 700,000 hectares.

The followup report issued by the secretariat after the first half of the current year of 1979 states that "the fruit and palm date seedlings planted since the beginning of the revolution have amounted to 10 million seedlings. Forest trees and sandbreakers have amounted to more than 74 million trees. These trees are distributed over the various areas. In the sphere of grain cultivation, the area planted with grains this year amounted to 207,000 hectares. It has also been possible to improve large areas of pasture lands and 137,000 hectares have been reclaimed in this sphere. The livestock distributed to the farmers amounted to 160,000 heads of sheep, 2,860 heads of cattle, 4,543 camels, 439,000 poultry birds and 4,943 beehives."



All these figures mean that the Jamahiriyah will face in the near future a big shortage in agricultural manpower. This has been confirmed to us by the experts we have met with. It also means that seeking the help of Arab manpower experienced in agricultural labor constitutes one of the fundamental conditions for completing the agricultural revolution.

[2 Sep 79, p 127]

[Text] Tripoli--The figures of the Jamahiriyah's Secretariat of Education have a special flavor because these figures cover between 1969, the year of the inception of the revolution, and the 10th anniversary of the 1 September revolution distances and dimensions that are closer to fantasy than to reality.

The 100 becomes 500 or 800 or 2,000 or a little more.

The minimum rate of any development in any of the spheres of education is more than 100 percent, not to mention the establishments, the scientific equipment and the institutes that have been created to keep up with the five-year development plan and as a complementary part of this plan.

All these figures and data on the development of education in the Jamahiriyah in the past 10 years are presented to you by Dr Muhammad Ahmad al-Sharif, secretary of the General People's assembly for Education, while he gives you a smile of self-confidence and of optimism regarding the future.

The man is in full command of his responsibility. He is highly educated, a doctor of philosophy and familiar with the facts and requirements of the age. Moreover, he focuses his attention on the future and is far from being hung on the past. These are two fundamental conditions for shouldering the responsibility in a country whose special circumstances have forced it to launch a comprehensive cultural revolution that surpasses many of the traditional frameworks and bases.

#### Education and Issue of Freedom

Our appointment with Dr al-Sharif had been set for 1100. We arrived 5 minutes late because of heavy traffic, keeping in mind that everything in the Secretariat of Education which has entered the age of the computer gives you the impression that time is truly gold. Thus, we started the interview without noteworthy preludes. It was logical that we would start with the idea projected in regard to education in the Jamahiriyah, namely the Green Book's view of education as stated in chapter three--The Social Mainstay.

We presented the outstanding excerpts of this chapter, namely: "Education or learning is not that organized curriculum and those classified disciplines which youth are forced to learn during certain hours, on benches arranged in lines and from printed books. This type of education, which is the predominant type of education in all parts of the world and which is the compulsory education of which the countries of the world boast whenever they can impose



it on their youth--this type of education is one of means of suppressing freedom. It is a compulsory obliteration of the talents of man and a coercive channelling of man's choices.

"Compulsory education and organized systematic education are actually tantamount to forceful stultification of the masses. All the states that determine the courses of education through official curricula, that force people to learn these curricula and that define officially the knowledge and the materials that have to be learned are states that engage in oppression against their citizens. All the systems of education prevailing in the world must be destroyed by an international cultural revolution that frees man's intellect from the systems of fanaticism and from intentional adaptation of man's taste, understanding and intellect.

"This does not mean closing the doors of the houses of learning, as superficial people will imagine when they read these words, and does not mean that people should turn away from education.

"On the contrary, this means that society should provide all kinds of education and should allow people the freedom to turn to any discipline spontaneously. This requires that the houses of education be enough for all disciplines. Failing to achieve this sufficiency means curtailing man's freedom, forcing him to learn certain disciplines which happen to be available and denying him a natural right because of the unavailability of other disciplines."

/Question/ We said: This is the revolution's line. How do you translate it practically, i.e. in carrying out the educating process, beginning with the elementary stage and upward?

#### Freedom and Abundance

/Answer/ (Dr al-Sharif said) The truth is that insofar as the Green Book is concerned, it is expected that detailed explanations will be issued to shed light on the issues with which it deals, including the issue of education. This is what the brother leader of the revolution has promised. But it can be said that the two points on which the book focuses insofar as education is concerned are the issues of freedom and abundance. To have a free choice, more disciplines must be made available to the student. Freedom is the fundamental thing and the condition of this freedom is that no coercive force dominate man and that no obstacle stand in his path. In the research section of the Secretariat of Education, we have been studying for a year the ways and means that enable an elementary school student to choose the group of disciplines that he wants and that are compatible with the inclination of his talents so that the door of specialization in the higher education may open up to this student without coercion and without obstacles. Consequently, we have found that the urgent thing insofar as compulsory education in the elementary and junior high schools is concerned is to introduce the various forms of technology and to focus on discovering hobbies and the inclination of talents.

We are still at the beginning of the study and the questions facing us presently are: What are the means and methods that enable the child to choose the right direction? What is required in the compulsory stage is not to let the child's inclination fall under any coercive imposition. It is obvious that the march along an open course like this one has to be made in stages because it is required that a special kind of teachers be available.

(The secretary of education went on to say) For 4 years, we have been organizing special records for children in order to learn their hobbies and choices and to determine their educational inclinations. When the revolution broke out, two things of major significance happened: The first was material and tangible and the second was moral. These two things have been embodied on the one hand by the enormous increase in the number of students, both male and female, and in the number of teachers, as you will notice from the figures. They have been reflected, on the other hand, in the people's complete awareness of the issue of education. The revolution has expelled from the minds of people numerous illusions. In the past, education was an ordinary thing that may be or may not be had.

The revolution has been tantamount to an awakening of the people. It has proven the saying that "only what is right is right." The revolution has also motivated the Libyans to understand the truth of education as a necessity of life in this age.

The problem that the revolution faced in the sphere of education in the past is different now. In the past, incentives were given to increase the demand for education. But now the thousands of new students fight their way to schools every year. This created for us a material problem, namely how to supply the building and the space. But we have been able to solve the problem through mobile schools and through holding classes in city or town squares.

#### Development of Curricula

Question Has this development required the drawing up of a special curriculum?

Answer When the number of students began to increase, we brought a number of Arab teachers. But the question remained: What do we teach these people? At the outset, we refused to adopt a special curriculum of ours. This was in 1971 and in the wake of the issuances of the Tripoli Confederal Charter. We agreed with the other countries in the charter to adopt a unified curriculum. Only the Libyans applied this curriculum which includes the national history and new disciplines. A year later, the resolution of the charter states began to weaken. Lengthy discussions followed and ended with a resolution to reform the high-school education. Shortly afterward, Libya was marching forward with its popular revolution which sought in the sphere of education to create a new Arab man through developing the curricula. For a whole year, we examined the curricula of the advanced countries and then we

presented this question to the Libyan people through the people's congresses: What do you want to teach your children? Through the ideas that we received, we reached what may be termed the philosophy of education and of teaching. This philosophy was formulated in a document and this document answers a fundamental question concerning history, namely: Who is the Libyan Arab man? We also worked to develop the mathematics and sciences curricula. We completed this in the 1973-74 academic year. Since then, we have been sending scholarships to the technically and technologically advanced countries of the world.

#### This Is How We Apply

[Question] You have mentioned in the course of your discussion of the Green Book's view of education something concerning the introduction of technology to the elementary stage. Is this spread to the other stages?

[Answer] To provide an abundance of disciplines for every stage in order to implement the principle of the freedom of choice, there is a principle which relies on dropping a number of principles from one stage to a lower stage. This is done on the basis of research and studies. The aim is to strengthen the student's ability to choose. Thus, when the student completes his high school education he finds before him a large number of colleges and higher institutes and he can select the one he wants to join. What I mean by this is that the student passes through the gardens of education in the elementary, junior high and high school until he reaches the higher studies with absolute freedom to choose. I should point out that the studies that are being carried out by the research section of the secretariat benefit from the contributions of the UNESCO and from a number of international universities that offer advice and evaluation.

#### Education and Woman

[Question] We have noticed that after the elementary stage, the number of female students gets to be much lower than that of male students. What is the reason?

[Answer] The fact is that what is happening now can be considered a record development in comparison to the past. This is because the awakening created by the revolution has urged people to think that educating girls has become a duty. The equal number of both sexes in the elementary stage is due to the fact that education is compulsory for this stage. The number of girls then begins to drop in the junior high school from which a part of the female students go to the female teachers institutes. This is the case in the cities but in the rural areas, there is no difference between the two sexes. However, the problem continues to lie in the fact that the girl gets prepared for marriage. Now we notice that large numbers of women seek education even after marriage. We may even face a crisis of surplus graduates from the female teachers institutes. We are now seeking to provide transportation so as to enable larger numbers of female students to enroll in schools. I should note that 2 years ago, the number of female exceeded that of male students in the elementary stage.

## Keeping Up With Development

The secretary of education then dealt with the issue of linking education to the development plans, saying:

The development plans have reduced many of the problems from which education suffered in the past. We have put an end to the traditional emigration from the countryside to the cities which used to create unbearable overcrowding. What is happening in our country now is the opposite: A return to the countryside. All this is due to the major industrial and agricultural projects in the countryside and to the distribution of these projects in a manner that takes into consideration the creation of harmonious development in the various areas. It is true that the major universities are in the cities. However, a new university is scheduled to be built in the central area. We also have numerous projects that give students the opportunity to learn and work so as to enrich their knowledge with experience. I would like to mention in this context that the development plans are taught to the student between the third and sixth intermediate grades and the second and third secondary school grades. The student thus gets to be familiarized with the spheres of development and is provided with the broadest selection opportunities. There are also in certain rural area branches of specialized education. Consideration was given in setting up these branches to their proximity to the fields of work. Take for example the engineering and Petroleum College in al-Burayqah, the student there can see and experience things on the spot.

## Part of Revolution

/Question/ On reaching the point of university education, we asked: What about the university revolution?

/Answer/ It is in fact a part of the people's revolution. It was logical that the university would keep up pace with the revolution and would carry on with its thrust. This means that the university should rid itself of the conventional systems and curricula that regurgitate the aristocratic intellectualism and should tie itself to the development plans and to the masses, i.e. to the movement of the entire society. In our view of university education, we are required to steer clear off the inherited formulas and the inherited system. We have set up the system of sections for sciences and mathematics. On the basis of this system, it has become possible to proceed with development in a better manner. In the new university in (al-Rafir) area, there are sections for applied sciences and sections for pure sciences. Some sections have technical institutes where one half the discipline is taught theoretically and the other half in workshops. This is the case in Wadi al-Shati' Institute, the Higher Technology Institute in Fezzan, the Higher Electricity Institute, the Education College in the south and the Agriculture College in Fezzan.

/Question/ There is a slogan projected by university students in numerous Arab countries, namely the slogan of participation which means student representation in the administration and in the determination of curricula. Is this



applied in the Jamahiriyah's universities?

[Answer] The revolution's view of education as a whole emanates from the concept of the direct democracy. This is why this view surpasses by far all that is projected. The university, all its branches, colleges and institutes are run by the people's committees in which the deans, professors and students are represented. Section secretaries are selected by a general election. The role of students in the process of running universities has its significance from this angle. In every college and institute, a student is selected for each year [freshman, sophomore, etc]. The result is that the students participate effectively in selecting the people's committee. This is why it can be correctly said that the Jamahiriyah's university administrative system provides the broadest opportunities of freedom and choice to the student body.

Now, let us proceed with a comparison to , with the figures that the secretary of education put at our disposal, thus revealing the degree of development achieved by education in the 10 years of the revolution's era.

#### Compulsory stage: Elementary and Preparatory

Elementary stage: In 1968-69, the number of male students amounted to 183,080. In 1978-79, the number amounted to 315,853. Rate of increase; 73 percent. In 1968-69, the number of elementary female students was 78,537. In 1978-79, the number rose to 284,814. The rate of increase: 225 percent. Thus, the total number rose from 270,000 to 600,000 students, i.e. with an increase rate of 122 percent. In the preparatory [junior high] stage, the total number rose from 29,181 to 191,544 students i.e. with an increase rate of 556 percent. As for female students in this stage, the number rose from 3,544 to 76,518 students, i.e. with an increase rate of 2,059 percent.

#### Secondary [High School], Teachers Institutes and Vocational Education

In high school education, the total number of male students rose from 7,181 in 1968-69 to 27,122 students in 1978-78, i.e. with an increase rate of 278 percent. As for female students, the number rose from 944 to 6,368, i.e. with an increase rate of 575 percent. In the male and female teachers institutes, the total number rose from 5,195 students to 24,153 students, i.e. at a rate of 368 percent. The number of female students rose from 2,203 to 15,038, i.e. at a rate of 853 percent. In vocational education, the number of students rose from 293 to 7,353 students, i.e. at a rate of 2,410 percent (this phenomenon gives the indication of the attention focused on this type of training out of commitment to the goals of the five-year plan).

#### Teachers and School Buildings

The total number of male and female elementary school teachers was 9,162 teachers in 1968-69. This number rose to 28,259 teachers in 1978-79, i.e. with an increase rate of 309 percent. In the junior high stage, the number rose from 2,076 to 12,990 teachers, at an increase rate of 526 percent. In the high



school level, the number rose from 608 teachers in 1968-69 to 2,350 teachers in 1978-79, i.e. with an increase rate of 287 percent. In the male and female teacher institutes, the number rose from 466 to 2,210 teachers, i.e. at a rate of 374 percent. In technical education, the number rose from 17 instructors to 582 instructors, i.e. at an increase rate of 3,323 percent. As for school buildings, they rose from 1,069 to 2,212 building for the elementary stage, from 144 to 922 for the junior high stage and from 25 to 94 for the high school stage. The classes of teachers institutes have risen to 93 classes and 38 institutes for vocational sciences have been built instead of 13 classes /in 1968-69/.

#### University Education

Between the year 1968-69 /and the year 1978-79/, the number of male and female students in al-Fatih /1 September/ University rose from 1,154 to 5,811 students and the number of professors from 193 to 538. The number of colleges has risen from four to six. In Qar Yumis University, the number of male and female students rose from 3,001 in 1968-69 to 8,755 students in 1978-79. The figures show that the number of female students in both universities has risen by high percentages.

There are three higher institutes that were not present before the revolution, namely: The Electricity and Mechanics Higher Institute, the Higher Technology Institute and the Higher Electronics Institute. The number of students in these institutes has amounted to 500 and the number of professors to 86.

There remains the sphere of religious education. The number of elementary students in this type of education amounted 23,840 students in 1978-79 compared to 10,157 student in 1968-69. In the junior high, the number rose from 376 to 1,790 students and in the religious high school stage and institutes, the number rose from 309 to 486 students.

Thus, the total number of students in the Jamahiriya is nearly 900,000 students or one third the population. Commenting on this development, Dr al-Sharif says that the Jamahiriya is proceeding with a fast past toward realizing its comprehensive cultural revolution, tying this revolution to the completion of the development plans and to society's life.

/3 Sep 79, p 8/

/Text/ Tripoli--A detailed discussion of woman's position and role in the Jamahiriya requires a man to live the experience of the Libyan society in a better manner than we were able to do during a short period not exceeding 8 days.

However, the visit that we made to the town of Misratah in the countryside provided us with an invaluable opportunity to meet a group of nearly 50 women and girls working in a modern shoe factory and a group of nearly 150 women working in the Carpet and Rug Industry Center. This center is tantamount to

a big craft shop that produces its products over developed looms. The rugs /al-kilim/ are a type of small carpets with artistic pictures and designs and are usually hung on walls as decorations.

The presence of this number of women, with their faces exposed, in a permanent daily work continues to be a unique and interesting phenomenon that evokes a degree of surprise in an Arab country like Libya where women until the very recent past were kept in strict seclusion in the home. When we learn that the carpet craft shop, and the shoe factory, in Misratah are among the accomplishments of the 1 September revolution, it becomes obvious to us how much the revolution has contributed toward liberating women from the darkness of seclusion and toward bringing them into the light. This applies to various aspects of public life, especially schools and universities.

### Major leaps

During our tours in the streets of Tripoli we saw many veiled women going around by themselves or in the company of children, a husband or a family member. From their appearance, they did not seem to be from among the common people. They rather seemed to represent a limited group of people, coming mostly from the educated circles. This is perhaps completely natural. A woman coming from these circles has made enormous forward leaps under the 1 September revolution, considering that the number of high school female students rose from 944 students in the 1968-69 academic year to 6,328 students in 1978-79, i.e. at an increase rate of 575 percent. The number of women enrolled in teachers institutes rose from 2,203 to 15,038 students, i.e. at an increase rate of 852 percent. In al-Fatih /1 September/ and Qar Yunis Universities, the number of female students rose from 468 to 3,112 students, i.e. with an increase rate of nearly 700 percent.

In the general state administrations, we noticed the presence of some women working in the secretarial field, but only very few of them. When we asked about the reason, we were told that the overwhelming majority of educated women take up teaching. This is evident from the fact that the number of female teachers in the compulsory stages of education (elementary and junior high school) is equal to or a little larger than the number of male teachers.

### Countryside Is More Liberated Than Cities

/Misratah, we saw on our way to the city a considerable number of young girls (Ages 12 to 15 years) working with their relatives in the fields, either collecting the vegetable crops or hoeing. This was seen throughout the villages scattered along both sides the highway to Misratah. In the town of Misratah itself, the percentage of unveiled women that we met was higher than that which we noticed in Tripoli.

Generally, the rural woman seemed to us to proceed more freely toward public life. We asked a number of Libyan brothers about the significance of this and were told the Libyan countryside, considering that the bedouin character still

prevails in it, gives women a greater degree of freedom and a broader role in social life. This situation can be described as a distinctive "phenomenon" when compared to the situation in a number of the Arab east countries.

#### With Workers

In the Carpet and Rug Center, we met Mrs Anisah 'Imran al-Khamsi who took us on a tour of the various sections of the center which is housed in a big three-floor building. She explained to us the technical qualities of the loom used in the center: "It is built like the old wooden loom fundamentally. But it is made of metal and some changes have been made in its structure to enable the female worker to sit in front of it more comfortably, in addition to other advantages. The principle of design is not different from that of the traditional wooden loom, even though this one is higher and broader, thus making it possible to weave a bigger piece on it."

Mrs Anisah also said: "The number of women working in the center is 150 women, including married and unmarried women. If we add those who work at home, the number becomes 200. The center loans a loom to a woman who wants to work at home. If she wishes to buy it, one half the price is deducted and she is supplied with raw materials, namely yarn and design patterns, at half the price. As for the method of determining the wages of the workers, those working in the center collect 16 dinars for every square foot of work. This makes their wages generally satisfactory when compared to other wages. As for those who work at home, the center collects the goods from them at the same price (16 dinars per square foot). However, the center gives these women the option to sell their products in the market where the price ranges from 20 to 24 dinars."

Mrs Anisah went on to say: "The center was set up in 1971 when brother Abu-Zayd Durdah (the secretary of municipalities) was the governor of Misratah. This is one of the most important industrial centers in which women participate. At the outset, we faced some difficulties arising from the social situation. But since 1975, the number of female workers has risen considerably and the production has improved greatly. The establishment of this center has made it possible to preserve the invaluable expertise in this industry that has lived for thousands of years and since ancient times in families. I remember that when the men went to war during the Italian occupation, the incomes of families were depended totally the loom. The women worked and managed the life of their families."

Mrs Anisah also said that "the center gives its workers the opportunity to continue their junior high and high school education or to enroll in the female teachers institutes by conducting special classes for these workers. The center participates of course in eliminating illiteracy. There is a number of workers who completed their high school education during their work."

We should point out that Mrs Anisah al-Khamsi has professional experience in this industry which she manages. She has also been able to complete her studies while managing the center. She got a teacher's diploma in 1973 and then

enrolled in high school where she carried on with her studies. She is married and has three sons. When we asked her about her wish on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the 1 September revolution, she said: "My wish is that unity be achieved by the Arabs and that they rid themselves of their division and their conflicts. With unity, the Arab nation can confront its enemies and liberate Palestine."

It remains for us to take a short pause vis-a-vis the general concepts projected by the 1 September revolution insofar as women are concerned because the phenomenon of getting rid of the seclusion is nothing but a natural response to these concepts.

#### All Rights, Provided That She Remain Mother

In the Green Book--the social mainstay--Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi discusses in detail women's social role, stressing that the role of mother tops everything. As for civil rights, women are fully equal to men.

"All societies now view women as nothing but a commodity. The east views woman as a property that can be bought and sold and the west fails to view her as a female.

"Woman has her full rights without being forced to turn into man and to abandon her femininity.

"There is no difference in human rights between man and woman, old and young. But there is no complete equality between them in regard to the duties that they must carry out."

In the People's Congress session held from 13 to 25 November 1976, the revolution leader defined what he means by the phrase "all the people" who are supposed to exercise their political rights. He said: "The people are the people and there is no explanation for that which needs no explanation. Not all the people are men. Woman constitutes one half the society and it is unjust and unreasonable that society be run by decisions made by one half to the exclusion of the other half. This means undermining the people's right by taking away a part of it. The important thing is that the fate of the home not be decided in the absence of the lady of the home."

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BRIEFS

U.S.-MOROCCAN ARMS SALE CONDEMNED--In Beirut, Nur al-din 'Ahmad 'Ali, member of the Politburo of the Polisario Front, who has been in the Lebanese capital within the framework of a tour [word indistinct] Arab, denounced the decision of U.S. President Carter to support the royal regime in Morocco in its aggressive war against the Saharan people. He said this at a press conference in which he added that the attitude of the United States administration and also of the French Government was aggressive not only toward the Saharan people, but also against all the liberation movements in the world. Nur al-din 'Ahmad 'Ali went on to say that it was the failure of the Moroccan royal regime in facing the Saharan people's liberation army which caused him to internationalize the conflict and to bring in foreign sides into it in order to impose war on the peoples of the Arab Maghreb region and its progressive forces. The Saharan leader stressed that if the Moroccan royal regime did not give up its aggressive war against the Saharan people and recognize the justice of the cause of these people and enter into direct negotiations with the Polisario Front, its fate would be no better than that which had overtaken the Shah of Iran or the regime of Ould Daddah in Mauritania. [Excerpt] [Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 23 Oct 79 LD]

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